

## Some New Dravidian-Afroasiatic Lexical Parallels

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The most promising genetic affiliation of the Dravidian language family seems to be its inclusion in the Nostratic macro-family. Dravidian languages have been compared separately with various branches of the Nostratic macro-family: Uralic (Schrader, Burrow, Andronov, Tyler, Marlow), Altaic (Bouda, Menges, Vacek), Kartvelian (Fähnrich), and Indo-European (Gnana Prakasar, Southworth). They have also been compared with several Nostratic branches in individual studies, such as with a combination of Semitic, Indo-European, Uralic, and Altaic (Caldwell) or Uralic and Altaic in conjunction with Japanese (Fujiwara). As concerns works specifically devoted to comparison between Dravidian and Afroasiatic languages, the only known works are only partial comparisons, the contributions of which are debatable. A few examples are the works by Homburger (Dravidian vs. Egyptian, Dravidian vs. Cushitic) and by Samsuddin (Dravidian vs. Semitic).

The Dravidian language data given in the published parts of the Nostratic dictionary (Illič-Svityč 1971, 1976, 1984: 378 roots altogether) correspond well with the data of other branches, as categorized by the following numbers (numbers in parentheses designate additional possible, but questionable, cognates):

Dravidian vs. Afroasiatic	99	(125)
Dravidian vs. Kartvelian	58	(75)
Dravidian vs. Indo-European	104	(125)
Dravidian vs. Uralic	105	(115)
Dravidian vs. Altaic	107	(125)

Dravidian material is represented in 144 roots in the 1971 volume, with the addition of 21 new roots in the 1976 volume, and the addition of another 9 new roots in the 1984 volume. Another addition of approximately 20 other roots has not been included in the dictionary; these, however, may be used as supplementary examples (see author's notes in *Lexica Nostratica: Addenda et Corrigenda I, II*). The primary goal of this contribution to the Nostratic lexicon between Dravidian and Afroasiatic as opposed to comparisons with a wider variety of Nostratic languages, not to mention comparisons with Sumerian alone.

This text presents more than 120 new lexical parallels between Dravidian and Afroasiatic, meaning that the corpus collected by Illič-Svityč (which also includes verbs and grammemes) is doubled. Four of these supplement *Opyt sravnenija nostratičeskix jazykov* (1971, 1976, 1984); four others represent additions to *Materialy k sravnitel'nomu slovarju nostratičeskix jazykov (Étimologija 1965, Moskva 1967)*. Parallels from the Nostratic languages other than Dravidian and Afroasiatic are cited in 70 cases (Elamite 9, Indo-European 42, Kartvelian 9-10, Uralic 21-22, Altaic 21-23); the Sumerian data, not included in the statistics of the Nostratic comparanda, are cited in 13 cases. The comparison with Sumerian does not mean the affiliation of Sumerian in the Nostratic macrofamily. Together with Alexander Militarev we try to explain the numerous Sumerian-Afroasiatic parallels as a result of a merger of two language components in Southern Mesopotamia: a substratum, probably representing an independent Afroasiatic dialect, and an adstratum, with probable Sino-Caucasian genetical links (cf. Blažek 1999, 54-55).

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Starostin S.A. 1995. "Sravnitel'nyj slovar' yenisejskikh jazykov (A comparative vocabulary of the Yeniseian languages)." In: *Ketskyj sbornik*, vol. IV, pp. 176-315. Moscow.  
Stolbova, O. 1996. *Studies in Chadic Comparative Phonology*. Moscow.

The lexical material is divided according to semantic fields as follows: **A. Body parts; B. Human society; C. Fauna; D. Flora; E. Inanimate nature / space / time; F. Culture.** Many new cognates have been discovered which are distributed among several grammatical categories, including adjectives, terms from which the numerals have evolved, verbs, pronouns, and various grammatical particles. But for this article I am restricting the extent of my contribution to nouns only, with a few exceptions. In addition to the most basic lexical elements, such as body parts and natural objects, I have also included common cultural terms, which may reflect similar ecological conditions among the different communities (e.g. for flora or fauna) as well as the cultural levels of these communities as determined by the neolithic revolution (e.g. house, village / city, hoe / plough, to sow, to milk, honey, bow, arrow, etc.).

Data such as these seem to imply some sort of secondary contact between speakers of the Dravidian and Afroasiatic languages, perhaps through the habitation of the Mesopotamian area before the coming of the Sumerians. Nevertheless, we cannot exclude an alternative explanation: the possibility that Dravidian was a merger of two proto-languages which occurred prior to their emigration to the Indian peninsula, these languages being Northern Nostratic and Southern Nostratic (Afroasiatic). Of course, definitive conclusions regarding the preceding questions will require interdisciplinary research within the fields of archaeology, anthropology, and historical linguistics. Even now, however, despite the significant recent developments in Afroasiatic reconstruction, we can still rely upon the excellently validated system of correspondences between Dravidian and Afroasiatic formulated by Illič-Svityč.

The first version of this study originated in the late 1980's. A very telegraphic report was published in the 'red series' edited by V. Shevoroshkin in Bochum (1992). The present version is based not only on frequently tentative reconstructions, but especially in the case of Afroasiatic, on concrete lexical data mostly with concrete sources.

## Lexical data:

### A. Body parts

1. Dr \*cik- "flesh" (D 2549: III, V, VI)  
AA \*švk- "flesh" > ? Cu: (C) \*səx- "flesh" > Bilin səxá, Kemant səyā, Khamtanga sóya (Appleyard) || (E) Dullay: Gollango saakan-ko, Gawwada sakán-ko "flesh" (AMS) || ? Om: (N) Dizi acku, Shako aško, Nao ašku; Bameši őške, Male aški "meat" (Bender) || Ch: (C) Mbara-Vulum súk (Tourneux), Musgu k-soog (Roeder) || (E) Kera ku-súki id. (Ebert).

2. Dr \*(c)ü(v)- "flesh" (D 728: I, VIII; 3373: I, VI, VIII)  
AA \*čawy-/čaw?- "meat" > Sem: Arab šawā (š-w-y) "rösten, braten (Fleisch)", šiwā? & šuwā? "gebratenes Fleisch" (Wehr 450) || ? Eg (Med) šw.t "menschliche Körperteil: Seite, Hüfte, Lende" (Wb. IV, 425) || Cu: (N) Beja ša(\*) "Fleisch" (Reinisch) || ? (C) Awngi əšši "meat" (Hetzron) || Om: (N) Wolayta ašūwa, Doko ayšše, Chara aččaa etc. "meat" (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 298) || Ch: (W) Miya tšwíyá, Pa'a hluwi, Tule tlawó, Ngizim tšwái || (C) Hona lua, Lamang lui, Dgwede tšwé, Mofu álšw, Logone lwa, Zime-Batna tlew || (E) Barain suu, Mokilko séy, Jegu súút etc. "meat" (JgIb 1994, 232-33). Cf. FePe \*š/siwə-? "flesh, meat" (UEW 763) ?

3. Dr \*talay "head" (D 3103: I - VII)  
AA: CCh: Daba group \*talaŋ "head" > Musgoy tálá, Daba táláŋ, Kola táláŋ id. (JgIb 1994, 183).  
Cf. Alt: Tk \*tul(g)uŋ "temple, plait"; cf. Chagatai tuluŋum "Haarflecht" (Räsänen 1969, 498) || Mong toluŋai "head" || MKor tšikòr "forehead" (AED #1092) || IE: Celt \*talo- > Gaulish -talos (in proper names), Welsh, Breton tal "front" & \*talu- > OIrish taul, tul "front" (Vendryes 1978: T 180-82).

4. Dr \*mök- "above, top" (D 5128: I, VI)  
AA: Cu: (E) \*mug- "head" > Tsamakko múgaŋ-te id. (Hayward); Burji múg-a "head", ? Hadiya mug-a "club" (Sasse 1982, 148) || Ch: (C) Musgu máge-ni "his head" (Rohlf), Munjuk mok "head" (Tourneux) = Musgu mok id. (Overweg).

5. Dr: Konda musku "topmost part, upper side (of something)" (D 5128: VI)  
AA: Cu (E) \*misqaŋ "brain" > Somali masqaŋ, Boni miska' id. (Heine), Jiddu massiha id. (Lamberti) || Om: (S) Ari-Jinka maktsa "brain" (Fleming).  
Cf. IE \*mozgo-/\*mosko- "brain" (Pokorny 1959, 750).

6. Dr \*kann- "cheek" (D 1413: I) & \*kenn- "cheek, jaw" (D 1989: I, II, III)  
AA \*gin-/\*gun- "face, cheek, forehead" > Cu: (N) Beja ginúun "gum of teeth" (Roper) = gunúun "jaw" (Bechhaus-Gerst) || (S) Iraqw gineeŋi "back of head" (Kiessling) || Eg (Med) dnn.t "Kopf" (Wb. V 576) || Ch: (W) Ankwe gen, Montol gun "cheek" (Jg); Gera geni "face" || (C) Lame gíni "cheeks" (Kraft) || (E) Mubi gín "Stirn" (Lukas).  
Cf. IE \*gen-/\*g'en- "face, jaw" > Greek γένυς "jaw", Latin gena "Wange" etc. vs. OIndic hánu- "jaw" (Pokorny 1959, 381-82) || FeMd \*kōnV > Finish kuono, Estonian koon "jaws, chops", Mordvinian Erzya koña "forehead" (SKES 241).

7. Dr \*mun- "front" (D 5020a: I-VIII) and / or \*mind/ni "eyelash, eyebrow" (D 4864: IV) & \*m'n- "to wink, close the eyes" (D 4877: IV, VII)  
AA \*man-/\*min- "forehead" > Cu: (E) Afar minin "eyebrow"; Bayso munje "mouth, lip"; Konso miin-tá "forehead, face", Mossiya miin-ta id.; Gawwada miin-té "Stirn, Vorderseite, Gesicht", Tsamakko m'n-te "face", Alaba, Kambatta miin-e "forehead"; Yaaku maŋa "eyebrow" (Lamberti 1987, 533) || Ch: (C) Hina maneno "Stirn" (Strümpell).  
Cf. IE \*mein- "face" > Hittite meni/a- "face"; OIrish mén "mouth", Cornish myn id., Breton min "Schnauze" (Jucquois, *Orbis* 16[1967], 177-79; Tischler 1990, 197).

8. Dr \*pukk- "cheek" (D 4242: I, III - VII)  
AA \*buk(VS)- "cheek, head" > Cu: (E) Oromo bóq-o', Konso paq-oó-ta "jaw"; Burji bok-óo "cheek, side" (Black 1974, 134; Sasse 1982, 38) || Berb: (N) Rif abekka "face", Kabyle abka id. (Woelfel 1955, 43) || Ch: ? (W) Hausa baaki "mouth" || (C) Bachama bwòkəy "cheeks"; Banana fokù-ná "face" (Kraft).  
Cf. Kartv: OGe baqo "lip, border" || IE: Latin bucca "aufgeblasene Wange", Welsh boch "Wange" (W-H I, 120).

9. Dr \*muk- "face, mouth" (D 4889: I - VI)  
AA \*mak[u/i] "mouth" > Cu: (N) Beja muk "stomatitis, inflammation of mouth" (Hudson) || (C) Kemantmakäy ~ makäy "mouth" (Sasse), Qwara makiya, Khamir mika id. (Reinisch) || ? Ch: (C) Gidar mokö "mouth" (Strümpell), Musgu mágu id. (Lukas).  
Cf. IE \*mukH- (?) "mouth, face" > OIndic múkha- "mouth, face", Pashto max ~ mux, Parachi, Ormuri mux "face", Ossetic mükü "jaws, chops" (Morgenstierne 1927, 48-49; Abaev II, 131); ? Albanian myké "stumpfe Seite, Rücken" < \*mükā (Orel, *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 23/2, 148).

10. Dr \*kōr- "tusk" (D 2257: I, III, VI)  
AA \*k'ar[i] "tooth" > Cu: (N) Beja kwire "tooth" (Roper) || ? (E) Elmolo kárris "cheek, molar" (Heine), Oromo qarrifaa "canine tooth" (Gregg) || Om: (S) Ari-Jinkaŋari "tusk, tooth of hippo or elephant" (Bender) || ? Berb: Senhaja aqarruš "tooth" || Ch: (W) Hausa hákóoríí, Kulere žagweér "tooth" etc. (Stolbova 1996, 73: \*ha-ŋori ~ \*qawVri).

11. Dr \*kevi "ear" (D 1977a: I-VIII)

AA \*kab- "to hear" > Cu: (E) ? Afar -obb- id. (cf. Lamberti 1987, 534; the loss of \*k- in Afar is regular); Dullay: Harso kapaq, Gollango apaq, Tsamakko qabaq- (AMS); Burji akkab- id. (Sasse 1982, 24) || Om: (N) Mocha qābbi-(yé) id. (Leslau); Bambeshi keew-, Sezo kiw-e id. (Fleming).

Cf. Ural \*kawi "ear" (Sammallahti 1988, 538) || MKor kúi "ear" (Blažek, *Archiv orientální* 55[1987], 158: Dr + Ural + Kor + Tung \*xoji-pun "ear-rings"; Starostin 1991, 276 and AED #316 connect the Kor & Tungus words with Tk \*kul-kak "ear" || Mong \*kul-ku "ear-wax"; cf. Ordos xulugu "the ear of animal" || Tung \*xūl- "to (re)sound" || Ojp k-f-k- "to hear", reconstructing Alt \*k'ūjlu/o).

12. Dr \*kuŕ- "ear(-ring)" (D 1823: I, II, IV, VI)

AA \*gur[y]- "ear; to hear" > Cu: (E) Oromo gurra "ear" (> Amhara joro id.), Konso kurrá, Mossiya koworó id. (Lamberti 1987, 534) || Om: (S) Ubamer gori "earhole" (Fleming) || Berb: Zenaga gera "to hear" (R. Basset).

13. Dr \*āli "eyeball, pupil (of the eye)" (Zv 658: I)

AA \*ʔil- "eye" > Eg (Pyr) irt "eye" (Wb. I, 106) || Cu: (N) Beja liilli id. (Roper) || (C) Kemant il (Sasse), Awngi ǎil (Hetzron) etc., id. || (E) \*ʔil- id. > Somali il, Burji illa, Yaaku il id. (Sasse 1982, 104; Lamberti 1987, 534) || Dahalo ʔila id. || (S) Iraqw ila, Asa ilat, Qwadza ilito, Mbugu i'ila id. (Ehret 1980, 291) || Ch: (W) Buli ʔiir, Guruntum yeren || (C) Hidakala ilil, Lamang ili, Buduma yil "eye", Mandague ʔal "eyes" || (E) Mubi ʔirfin "eye" (Jgib 1994, 126-27) || Berb: Shilh of Tazerwalt ǎllēn "eyes" vs. sg. tyff < \*t-il-t, Ntifa pl. alln, Ghadames awēl, pl. wallēn (Lanfry). Cf. MEI el(t) "eye" (Blažek 1999, 58: Dr + AA + El).

14. Dr \*irapp- "eyelid, eyelash" (D 5169: I-IV, VI)

AA: Cu: (E) \*hiNrib- > \*hirrib- "eyelash" > Som hirrib "corner of the eye", Oromo hirrib-a "sleep", Konso hirrib-a, Yaaku hereban "eyebrow", Gollango hirrib-e "eyelash", Burji imbir-oo "eyelid" (Sasse 1982, 105). An old compound cannot be excluded. Cf. FeLp \*ripse > Finnish ripsi, Eston ripse "eyelash", Lappic Lule rapsa "membrane, napkin" (SKES 809).

15. Dr \*cim- "to wink; eyelid, eyelash" (D 2545: I, II, III)

AA: Cu: ? (N) Beja šimbehaani "eyebrows" || (E) Burji cimmiy "to close/cover the eyes" (Sasse 1982, 48), Gedeo himmi hass- (hass- "do"), Hadiya ſimbiſſ-, Kambatta timbiſſ-, Sidamo ſimbli'l- id. (\*cim-biſſ-ſ-; Hudson 1989, 42 reconstructs \*ſ-). Cf. Kartv \*cam- "twinkle", \*cam-ſam- "eyelash" (EWKS 496).

16. Dr \*cōr- "hair, beard" (D 2894: VI)

AA \*š/ēVr- "hair" > Cu: (N) Beja ſurg "pubic hair" (Hudson) || ? Om: (N) Dizi saaru "hair" (Bender) || Ch: (W) Hausa shaari & shiro "long hair on chest of of ram" (Skinner 1996, 184); cf. also Sem: Ugar ſrná, Geez ſornāy "wheat" (Leslau 1987, 534) and Eg (MK) ſr.t "barley" (Wb. IV, 524), if the primary semantic motivation was "hairy", cf. Hebr šōšōrā "barley" vs. šēšār "hair" etc. Cf. Sum ſuſur "cheveux; Haarschopf".

17. Dr \*ir-/ir- "internal organ" (D 546 & Zv 667: I)

AA \*ʔirw- "internal organ" > Sem: Akk ertum, iratum, irtu(m), gen. f. pl. irāti "Brust, Lunge" (AHw 386; Holma 1911, 44), Ugar irt, New Hebr rēʔā, Syr rāʔā, Arab riʔa "lungs", Harsusi ʔarīt, Šeri ʔeri, ʔirot id. (Leslau, *Language* 21[1945], 233, 236) || Cu: (E) Burji ir-a "stomach"; Yaaku ira, pl. irehmo "belly" and / or Somali uur, Rendille ur id. (Sasse 1982, 106) || (C) Mogrum arū, Muskum rāʔt "intestines" (Tourneux) || Berb: (S) Ahaggar tārut "poumon" (Prasse 1974, 215: \*t-HarūH-t) || (N) Shilha of Tazerwalt turtt, pl. turin "Lungeflügel" (Vycichl, *WZKM* 52[1955], 319-20: Berb + Arab).

Cf. IE \*ereu-/oreu- "intestines" (Pokorny 1959, 782).

18. Dr \*tar- "liver" (D 3120: II, IV, V, VI)

AA \*tir[aw]- "liver" > Cu: (E) Saho tiraw (Bender), Somali Tunni taraaw, Jiddu turuw (Ehret & Nuuh), Bayso toro, Arbore tirá (Hayward), Oromo Waata tiruu (Heine), Konso tiraa (Black), Tsamakko tir-e "liver" (Hayward), Gedeo tiro / tiſo id. (Lamberti) || (S) Mbugu i-tirao id. (Ehret 1980, 225) || Om: (S) Galila túri id. (Bender) || (N) Wolayta tira "chest", tirly "liver", Gamu tira "chest, liver" etc. (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 523-24) || ? Ch: (W) Ngamo tiil, Bolewa tiłow "heart" || (C) Musgu etetel "liver" || (E) Tumak tēlu, Ndam taaluu id. (Stolbova 1996, 35 reconstructs pCh \*ʔe[H]al-) or Ch: (W) Pelchi wá-téra'á "liver" (Shimizu), Pa'a tirkwasa "kidney" (Stolbova 1987, 166: WCh \*ḥa-tirsa).

Cf. IE: Celt \*tōr(t)s- > Irish tarr "belly", OWelsh torr gl. "palma", modern tor "belly", MComish tor id., Breton tor, teur id. (Vendryes 1978, 33) || Alt: Tk \*tōryōm "Schafdarne, Leber" (Räsänen 1969, 494).

19. Dr \*kōl "belly" (D 2244: VII, VIII)

AA \*k'aly- "kidney" > Sem \*kūlay-(at-) ~ \*kalay-(at-) > Akk kalūtu, Hebrew kilyā, Arabic kulya, Argobba kullay id. || Cu: (N) Beja ſnkwél'a & unkúl'a "kidney" (Reinisch) or kalāwa "interior" (Roper) || (E) \*kal-(al-) "kidney" > Som kelli, Bayso kalalja, Konso xalli-t-ta, Burji kalat-t-ée id. (Sasse 1982, 113); ECu > Dahalo kalle id. || Om: (S) Galila kela id. (Fleming) || (N) Wolayta killahuwa, Gamu-Dache kila-ho id. (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 410-11), Koyra killee "liver" (Cerulli) || ? Ch: (C) Hwona kwuliša, Bura kulši "kidney" (Kraft).

20. Dr \*pōr- "chest, breast" (D 4592: I, III, VI) and / or Dr \*porr- "lungs" (D 4569: I, VI)

AA \*bar(y?)- "chest organ" > Cu: (E) Som beer, pBoni \*béer (Heine) "liver" and / or Dasenech bal "chest, front", Burji bār-a "chest" (Sasse 1982, 33) || (S) Burunge baroʔo "spleen" (Ehret 1980, 338, 320) || Om: (S) Dime buru "kidney" (Bender). Cf. IE \*b<sup>h</sup>reu- "belly" (Pokorny 1959, 169 and / or 170-71) and also Sum bar "liver".

21. Dr \*mak(k)- "neck" (D 4622: IV)

AA \*muk- "neck, back" > Cu: (N) Beja mok "neck" (Reinisch) || (C) Bilin mōkk'a "buttock" (Lamberti) || (E) Afar makūḥ, mukūḥ "spinal cord" (Parker & Hayward), Boni múkkə "buttocks" (Heine), Yaaku muk "lower side of body" (Ehret) || Eg (MK) mkḥ3 "Hinterkopf", Coptic MAKZ "nuque, cou", cf. Eg ḥ3 "arrière de la tête" (Wb. II, 163; Vycichl 1983, 111). Cf. Iranian forms from Pamir: Shugni, Wakhi māk, Sarikoli mok, Ishkashim mak "back of the neck, nape" (Morgenstierne 1974, 44) || Ural \*muka "back" (Sammallahti 1988, 538) || Alt: ? Tk \*boʔaf "Kehle" (Räsänen 1969, 78) || Kor mok "neck, throat". Cf. Blažek, *Archiv orientální* 55[1987], 159: Dr + Kor + Tk + Ural + Iranian + AA (Eg+Beja).

22. Dr \*verin "back" (D 5488: I-IV, VI)

AA \*war(y)-/\*wury- "back" > Sem: Arab warāʔ "hinter", Mehri wurā "zurückkehren" (Müller 1975, 70) || Cu: (E) Oromo wiirtuu "spine" (Gragg); ? Sidamo, Hadiya waro, Kambatta waru "under" (Hudson 1989, 160) || Ch: (W) Hausa wuyāá, Dera wuro, Tsagu wiré, Kir wuyar, Kulere wur, Ngizim wūrú || (C) Higi Kamale wuri, Kilba wulya, Bachama wura, Daba wēlá, Buduma wuy, Zime-Dari yore || (E) Migama úré, Jegu were, Mubi wlrē "neck" (Jgib 1994, 252-53; Stolbova 1996, 90-91: pCh \*ḥa-wuyar) || ? Eg (Gr) ǎw3y.t "Kehle (des Gegners, die durchbohrt wird)" (Wb. I, 49) || Berb: (N) Central Morocco awəru "derrière" (cf. Cohen 1947, #509).

23. Dr \*car(r)- "neck" (D 2419: I(?), III, V)

AA \*sar-/sir- "back, neck" > Sem: Arab sarāt "back", Harsusi sār "behind, after" etc. || Cu: (N) Beja sára "back" (Reinisch) || (C) Khamir sara "back" (Reinisch), Awngi sər "lower part" (Hetzron) || (E) Afar sárra "back, rear" (Parker & Hayward), pBoni \*sárid "backside of chest" (Heine), Burji saro "tail" (Hudson), Yaaku

sEeEey "below, down" (Ehret) || Dahalo säre "back" (Tosco) || (S) Burungi sira "buttocks" (Ehret) || Eg (Pyr)s3 "back", Coptic COI "dos" (Wb. IV, 8; Yvcichl 1983, 185). Cf. MEI šara "under" (Blažek 1999, 59: AA + EI) || ? IE: Tocharian B sark "back (of the body), A sārši "backbone" || FU: Permian \*šōrV > Udmurt šōr "hinder, beyond", further in sil'šōr "nape of the neck" (sil' "neck"), Komi šōr "Hinterraum" (KESK 270) || Alt \*sirtV > Tk \*syrt "neck; mountain plato" (Räsänen 1969, 419) || Mong: Khalkha serten "spine ramification" || Tung \*sigde "spinal vertebra; mountain ridge" || OJsiri "buttock" (AED #1010).

24. Dr \*cērk- "back of the neck" (D 2817: VI)

AA \*čahr- > Sem \*jāhr- "back" > Akk šēru "Rücken, Oberseite", Eblaite za-lum [zahrum], Arab zahr "back", Mehri jahar "on" etc. (Müller 1975, 64, #10: Sem + Sumray) || Cu: (E) \*čeer- > Bayso feere "buttocks" (Hayward), Konso jeera "shame", Dirayta čeer-ta "vagina", Oromo feeri' id., Sidamo feere "anus" (Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 144) || Om: (N) Zaysečee "buttocks" (Lamberti) || Ch: (W) Hausa tsara "middle of the back" (Skinner 1996, 269) || (E) Sumray tāriny "back", Ndam tār, Mokilko dār etc. id. (Jglb 1994, 7). Cf. IE \*ster-(g<sup>h</sup>-?) > Latin tergum "back", tergus, -oris "harte Rückenhaut der Tiere, Fell, Rücken", Greek στέρπος "Rückenhaut der Tiere, Fell, Leder" (W-H II, 670)

25. Dr \*cu(k)- "nape of the neck" (D 2696: I, VI, VIII)

AA \*s/čug- "back, shoulder" > Cu: (C) Bilin sāg "shoulder(-blade)", Khamir sig "shoulder, hinder part" (Reinisch), Khamta sig "back" (Conti Rossini) || (E) \*sug- > Dasenech sug-u "back", Oromo fugiso "upside down" (Sasse, AuÜ 59[1975-76], 127-28).

Cf. Alt \*sūγ- "back of the neck" > Tk \*sūg-sūn "hinder part of the neck" || Tung \*sūg-li "mane" (Dybo 1989, 200).

Alternatively AA \*[ʒ]i/uk- "shoulder" > ? Cu: (E) Arborezéh "nape of the neck" (Hayward), Kambatta zakko "back" (Hudson) || (S) Mbugu ki-zōga "shoulder" || Om: (N) Wolayta zokkuwa "back", Gamu zokko, Dawro zokke, Kachama zaahē, Koyra zahi (cf. Arbore) id. (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 560) || Ch: (C) Mada adzak, Mboku dzugwam "neck" (Mouchet) || (E) Ndam jikām "my arm" (Lukas) || Berb: Tamazight tazukt "buttock, hip, thigh"; Ahaggar aγazzuk "top part of the groin" < \*aγās & zuk "bone & back".

Cf. IE \*steig- "shoulder, shin" (Pokorny 1959, 1018) || Alt \*ʒuγan- > Mong \*ʒuγan "waist part of backbone" || Tung \*ʒokon "a hollow between shoulder-blades, an inner corner" (Dybo 1989, 199).

26. Dr \*pVf- "nape, back" (D 4146: I, II, III, V)

AA \*bu[ʃ]d- "shoulder" > Sem: Akk būdum "Schulter", Eblaite bū-tum (Krebernik 1983, 36) || Cu: (E) Oromo Macha booda adv. "back" (LVC); Sidamo buuda, Hadiya buudo "arm, shoulder" ("braccio") besides "horn" (Cerulli); only the latter meaning was recorded for Burji buudá, Kambatta buuda (Hudson 1989, 81) || Om: (S) Ari-Jinka bud "upper back, back of thorax" (Bender), Ubamer buEd(a) "back" (Fleming) || Ch: (C) Zelgwa bida "throat" (Mouchet) || (E) Tumak bēd "arm" (Caprile), Ndam-Dik bād id. (Jg).

27. Dr \*kump- "back" (D 1747: I)

AA \*gabb-/gubb- "back" > Sem: Ugar gb "back (animal, human)", Hebr gab, Jewish-Aram gabbā id. || (E) Gedeo, Kambatta gooba, Sidamo goob(b)a "neck" (Hudson 1989, 104); Oromo Wellega gooba "hump of cattle" (Gragg) || Om: (S) Dime gumb "back" (Fleming) || (N) Kafagubbo (Cerulli), Mocha gūbbo "back of the body" (Leslau) || Ch: (C) Gidar gābbo "buttock" (Mouchet).

28. Dr \*kol- "tail" (D 2135: VII)

AA: Om \*gol- "tail" > (S) Ari go(o)l-i, Hamer gul-i, Dime go(o)l-an id. (Bender) || (N) Basketo goʔsi (Bender), Dokka golve (Fleming), Dawro goilano, Wolayta goyna etc. (Lamberti) || Berb: (N) Seghrushen aʒlal, Menacer aʒlal "tail" (Destaing).

29. Dr \*tūv- "bird's tail" (D 3393: I, II, III, VI)

AA \*dub(y)- "tail, back" > Sem: Mandaic dibra "back, tail", Arab dubr "back, neck" || Cu: (E) \*dib-/dub-/\*dab- "tail" > Somali dab-o id., dib "short tail of goat", Rendille dub "tail", Boni tib id., Bayso deb-e id., Elmolo dup ~ tup, Oromo duub-a "back, behind", Konso tup-a "behind" etc. (Sasse 1982, 57) || Om: (S) Karo dibini "tail" (Fleming), Banna doobanna id. || (N) Dawro duumya id. (Bender) || Ch: ? (W) Angas-Chip dāp, Ankwe dāp (Kraft), Sura dūp (Jg) "penis" (metaphorically "tail" ?) || (C) Mofu duba, Gidar dūbō, Musgu dābā (Mouchet), Gisiga duba "back", Gulfei dabē "buttock" (Lukas), Zime-Batna dub (Jg) || ? (E) Kwang tāwā "back" (Jg) || ? Berb: (S) Iulemidden tedēmbut "tail" (Barth). Cf. NEI tipī "neck" (Blažek 1999, 59: AA + EI).

30. Dr \*pull- "penis" (D 4309: I, III)

AA \*bulh- ~ \*bull- "penis" > Eg (Med) b3h id. (Wb. I, 419) || Cu: (E) Arbore balla "penis" (Hayward), Burji bulūkk-oo "testicle" (Sasse); ECu > Gurage of Soddo bəllət "penis" (Leslau) || Om: (S) Dime bullo id. (Bender) || (N) Basketo būlli, Dokko bulli "penis" (Fleming) || Ch: (W) Hausa būrāá, Bolewa bola, Bokkos ówél id. (Jg) || (C) Bata-Garwa bolle id. (Strümpell), Gulfei belewe id. (Lukas) || ? (E) Dangla pē:IE id. (Fédry) || Berb: Sus abellu, Warain abellu, Rif abrur id. (Woelfel 1955, 47). Cf. Kartv \*bil- "Vogelkamm; Knospen am Baum; Penis" (EWKS 55) || IE \*b<sup>h</sup>]-no-"membrum virile" (Pokorny 1959, 120-21) || FU \*pol'a "tail" (UEW 393-94) (Dolgopolsky 1995: Nostr \*bo/ulya or \*bo/uliHa).

31. Dr \*kunn- "penis" (D 1697: I, II)

AA \*gun(y)- "penis" > ? Cu: (E) Dasenech gun-u, pl. gunt-i "testicles" (Tosco) || Ch: (W) Ngizim g'nye, Bade g'nyáan "penis" (Kraft) || (C) Pidlimdi gwun id. (Kraft).

32. Dr \*māni "penis" (D 4805: I)

AA: Cu: (E) \*man-/mun- "penis, vagina" > Bayso man-to "penis", man-tiiti "vagina" (Hayward), Oromo mundo "penis", Gedeo mi'no id. (Hudson), Burji munn-aa "vagina" (Sasse 1982, 149).

33. Dr \*kant- "membrum muliebre" (D 1210: I)

AA \*kand/- "glans penis, clitoris" > Cu: (N) Beja kanfal "penis" (Roper) || (E) \*qanç- "gland" > Somali qanj-id "lymphatic gland", Konso qanç-itta "udder; swollen or abnormally big gland", Burji kánç-i "clitoris" (Sasse 1982, 124) || Om: (S) Ari, Galila qantl & kantl "testicles" (Bender) || ? Ch: (C) Pidlimdi kándi, Boka kaándá "vagina" (Kraft) || (E) Lele gúnjulo "testicles" (Jglb 1994, 323).

34. Dr \*kūti "pudendum, membrum muliebre" (D 1888: I, II)

AA \*ku/- "vulva, penis" > Cu: (C) Khamir x'oda "pudenda mulieris; anus" (Reinisch); ? CC > Amh kīr "anus" (cf. Dolgopolsky 1973, 249) || (E) Som qooq "penis cum testiculis" (Abraham) || Ch: (W) Hausa kóódá "testicles", Karekare gáwqyá id. || (C) Gava kíqinwa id., Wandala kuḍa "penis" (Kraft), Masa húdá "testicles" etc. (Jglb 1994, 323; Stolbova 1996, 66: pCh \*koʔud-).

35. Dr \*cūtt- "pudendum muliebre, penis, anus" (D 2724: I, VI)

AA \*Sit- "buttocks; vulva" > ? Sem \*šit- "buttocks", cf. Jibbali šēt "privates", Mehri šīt "vulva" || ? Cu: (E) Som Rahanwen šittoo "vulva" (Reinisch, Cerulli) || Om: (N) Yemsa seetoo "hymen"; Kafa šittoo (Cerulli), Mocha šiitto "vulva" (Leslau); Kachama setto "clitoris" (Conti Rossini) || ? Eg (Med) šd "vulva" (Wb. IV, 566) rather than (Pyr) sd "tail" compatible with Dullay (ECu) sfitō "tail" (t < \*d) and Kachama (NOM) suto "buttocks" (Conti Rossini), Yemsa suutaa "neck" (Cerulli).

36. Dr \*kolli "pudendum muliebre" (D 2138: I, II, III)

AA \*gul[ʃ]i "vagina" > ? Sem: Mehri gəlot "clitoris", Jibbali giʒʒót id., cf. Arab ǧaliʃa "to be obscene" (see Leslau, Language 21[1945], 242) || Cu: (S) Iraqw gwalay "vagina", Qwadza gulaʔiko id. (Ehret 1980, 372) || Ch: (C) Bachama gule "vagina"; Musgu gili "weibliche Scham" (Lukas).

37. Dr \*k[ɛ]- "pus, mucus" (D 1606: I-IV, VI-VIII)

AA: Om: (N) Kafa giyyoo, Mocha geyo; Kachama giššee "pus" (Leslau 1959, 34).

38. Dr \*ecc- "saliva, pollution" (D 780: I, III, VI, VII)

AA \*ʔayS-/\*ʔawS- "excrements, urine" > Cu: (N) Beja iš "urine", oš "to urinate" || Om: (N) Kachama oʃšaa "stercor di vacca" (Conti Rossini) || (S) Dime ʔuš "feces, dung" (Bender) || Ch: (W) Kofyarəs "feces", Zaar yi:s id. || (C) Zime-Batna ʔisi "dirt, dregs" || (E) Sokoro İssi; Jegu ʔiš "feces" etc. (JgIb 1994, 128-29).

39. Dr \*kāl- "leg, foot" (D 1479: I-VI, VIII ?)

AA \*kal(w)- "foot, leg" > ? Om: (N) Mao kelli "bone" (Grottanelli) || Ch: (C) Gulfei kalē "feet"; Masa kūl "Bein" || (E) Tumak de-gəl "foot, leg", Sumray de-gel-ám "thy foot", cf. di-lés-um "thy tongue" (Lukas).

Cf. Kartv \*qwil- "bone of upper arm" (EWKS 415) || IE \*kaul-/\*kul- "bone; femur" (Pokorny 1959, 537) || Alt: Mong \*kōl "foot" || Tung \*xol-ŋu- "shin-bone" (Dybo 1988: 123).

40. Dr \*aʔ- "foot(print)" (D 72: I-III, VI)

AA: C: (E) \*ʔad- "leg, thigh" > Som addin "leg", Boni İddi id. (Heine 1982, 115: pSam \*addim-6) || ? (S) Iraqw oriya "thigh" (Ehret 1980, 334: Som + Iraqw).

41. Dr \*kōcc- "bone" (D 1288: VII)

AA \*kasy- "bone" > ? Sem: Ar qassa "to pick a bone entirely and suck it out" (Steingass 835) and / or qašš "breastbone" (< \*qass ?) || Cu: (E) Dasenech kaš "Bein" (Haberland) = k/k/ʔis "foot" (Fleming) || Om: (S) Dime kōss (Bender) = kūs (Fleming) "bone" || (N) Nao kus id., Shako 'us, Dizi us id.; ? Hozo kāši "foot" (Fleming) || Eg (Pyr) ks "bone" (Wb. V, 68) || Berb \*a-qisi, pl. \*i-qisiy-un "bone" (Vycichl 1978, 73) > (E) Siwa aʔes (Laoust), Ghadames ʔess (Lanfry) || (S) Ahaggar eʔās (Prasse) || (N) Kabyle iʔes(s) (Dallet) || (W) Zenaga i'ssi (Nicolas) id. || Ch \*kas[i] "bone" > (W) Hausa káššii, Kariya káású; Bokkos kyas || (C) Musgu keš-ke || (E) Dangla káásò etc. (Stolbova 1996: 65-66).

Cf. IE \*kos-t- "rib / bone" (Pokorny 1959, 616) || FePerm \*kaskV "backbone" (UEW 648). Illič-Svityč (1971, #219) did not take into account the Dravidian (& Omotic) data.

## B. Human society

42. Dr \*maka "child" (D 4616: I-VII)

AA \*mak- "young man / woman" > Cu: (C) Qwara mákʔət, Dembea mekut "Jüngling" (Reinisch).

Cf. ? IE: Celt \*ma(k)k- "son" (Pokorny 1959, 696) || ? Ugrian: Mansimoki, mokh "child, descendant; belly" (Munkácsi) || ? Alt: Tung \*muxan "young male" (TMS I, 543).

43. Dr \*pār- "child, young animal" (D 4095: I, III, V)

AA \*bar- "child" > Sem \*bar- > Bibl-Aram bar, Mandaic brā "son", Mehri, Soqotri bār, Jibbali bār id. (Johnstone) || Cu: ? (E) Afar / Saho báɸa "son" vs. baɸa "daughter" (\*bar-t-?) (Parker & Hayward / Weimers) or Rendille báar "brother(s)-in-law, wife's brother(s)" (Galboran & Pilling) || Dahalo ʔóóreeɸe "boy" || (S) Mbugu mburatú "older boy, young man" (Ehret 1980, 138) || Berb: Ahaggarabaraɸ "boy" (Foucauld) || Ch: (W) Hausa béérá "young girl"; Angas par "child"; Fyer ɸará "child", cf. (C) Glavda vird "to create"; Zime-Batna vǎrá'á "to give birth" (Stolbova 1996, 25).

Cf. IE \*bʰer- "child" (Pokorny 1959, 131-32: apud \*bʰer- "to bear") || Kartv \*ber- "child" (Illič-Svityč 1971, #32: Sem+ECu+Berb+Kartv+IE).

44. Dr \*kōr- "young (of animal), child" (D 2149: I-VIII)

AA \*k/kʰar- "boy, child" > Cu: (C) Bilin qʷər "boy", 'əxʷra, pl. 'əqʷər "son / daughter" (Palmer), Kemant xura "child" (Zealealem) etc. (Dolgopolsky 1973, 83) || Ch: (C) Mafak(ə)rā "child"; Daba krə id. || (E) Sumray gōrən "son" (JgIb 1994, 74-75; concerning g-, cf. guseŋ "bone" < \*k-).

Cf. IE \*kur- > Kurdish kur "youngster", Pahlavi kurrag, Farsi kurra "foal"; Armenian k'owʔak id.; Hittite kurka- "foal, colt"; Greek κύριος "bastard son" (Hesych.) (Forssman, KZ 94[1980], 70-74; Puhvel 1997, 267-68) || Alt: Tk \*kʷf "girl" (Räsänen 1969, 269).

45. Dr \*il- "young" (D 513: I-VIII)

AA: Cu: (E) \*ʔil(V)m- "boy, son, child" > Som ilmo "small boy", Boni éleŋ "boy" (Heine 1978, 87), ? Rendille ilim "seeds" (Heine 1981, 190); Oromo of Wellega ilma "son" (Gragg) || ? Ch: (W) Bokkos ʔái "child"; Mburku líí "son" || (E) Mokilko ʔúló "child" (JgIb 74-75).

Cf. FU \*ilmV "man" > Finnish ilminen "man, homo", Lappic Lule áimat's id., Norwegian álmás "person", Mansi ál'ém-χglés "man, homo" where χ. also means "man" (SKES 105).

46. Dr \*cēŋr- "in-law" (D 2819: III, IV, VI)

AA \*s[i]rw- "relative, in-law" > Cu: (E) \*sVr- > Saho sera "Genosse, Freund" (Reinisch), Som saar "Mitglied des Gefolges", Oromo fira "relative, friend" (> Konso fira "relative, guest"), Dirayta sura "relative", Hadiya sulla id. (Sasse, AuÜ 59[1975-76], 126) || Ch: (W) Hausa sūrúkfí "father of husband's wife"; Ankwe s'uur, Angas siir, Kofyar soghor "in-law" (metathesis ?); Karekare sákwar id. (metathesis ?); Ngizim sáurák id. || (C) Tera sǎrvokɛ; Bata sérwá, Bachama šerwey; Mafa súkwár; Daba súkúl (metathesis ?); Musgu súlā etc. id. (JgIb 1994, 206-07; cf. Newman, *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 5/1[1977], 28, #74; Newman, *Journal of African Languages* 5[1966], 236, #52).

47. Dr \*melk- "in-law" (D 5081: VII)

AA \*mu[ʔ]al "brother / sister in-law" > Cu: (N) Beja m'aali "brother / sister-in-law" || (E) Hadiya mollo "close relative" (Hudson) || Om: (S) Kara mul'za "family, kin" (Fleming) || Ch: (W) Angas mwōl "brother", māl "sister" (Foulkes); Bolewa mol "younger brother", molle "younger sister" (Benton), Karekare málú "brother" (Jg) || () Gamargu mēlē "elder brother" (Barth / Benton), Glavda máál id., Dghwede mlē id.; Gidar mǎlmu id. (JgIb 1994, 48; cf. Greenberg 1963, 53, #14: Beja + Ch).

48. Dr \*nāk- "female" (D 3634: I-III, V?)

AA: Cu: (E) \*naag/k- "woman, wife" > Som naag "woman", Boni (Jara) naág id. (Heine).

Cf. Tung \*nekūn "younger relative" (TMS I, 617-18).

## C. Fauna

49. Dr \*yaŋ- "elephant" (D 5161: I-VI) - if derived from \*lyan < \*ciyan < \*cigan ?

AA \*ʒiŋ'an/r- "elephant" > Cu: (C) \*ʒ[i]xan- > Bilin jana, Kemant čana, besides zōhon < Amh zāhon (Zealealem), Khamir zōhōn (if it is not borrowed from Amh too), Falasha djáni (Beke), Awngi ənní, besides zōhōn < Amh (Hetzron), Kunfāl eni (Cowley) id.; some Agaw language or directly a protolanguage was a source of the Ethio-Semitic denotation of "elephant": ? Tigray zohol (Reinisch 1887, 181); Gafat zohúnš (Beke), Amh, Argobba zāhon, Gurage: Masqan žāx'ānš, Endegeñ, Gogot žāhonš, Chaha, Ennemor, Gyeto žāx'ārā id., besides Selti dāhano, Wolane dāhāno id., and also Harari doxon (Leslau 1979, 721) - the d-forms are probably of ECU (Afar-Saho ?) origin || (E) Afar dakānu (Parker & Hayward), Saho dakaano, pl. dakun (Reinisch); Som dagon, pl. dagomo (Reinisch); Gedeo daana'ə, Alaba zanóo, Qabenna zānoo, Tembaro zānoo-čču (Leslau, AuÜ 63[1980], 120, 125) Hadiya daane-cco, Kambatta zaneč-ccu, pl. zanaakata, Sidamo daan-ico, pl. daaniwo id. (Hudson 1989, 56: pHECU \*zaane); Yaaku sogóm-əp (Heine; cf. Sasse, AuÜ 59[1975-76], 135: Yaaku + Dahalo) || Dahalo dokóomi id. (Tosco) = dōkkóomi id. (Ehret) || (S) Iraqw daŋ, Burunge, Alagwa daw id. (Ehret 1980, 176) || Om: (S) Hamer donger, Bako dongor (Fleming) || (N) Zayse dongor (Cerulli), Wolayta, Zala, Basketo, Dawro etc. dangar-sa, Gamu dangar-si; Kafa dangiyo, Mocha dengawo, Anfillo dangec-co, Shinasha dangeš-ša (\*danger-); Nao, Maji door, Shakko doroo etc. (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 344-45), besides Bambeshi tongile, Sezo toŋlil, Hozo tanggil (Fleming) with puzzling t-; Yemsa zakno, zahna (Cerulli), Koyra zākka (Hayward), Kachama zaakka (Conti Rossini), Ganjule etc. zakka id. (Fleming) probably represent Ethio-Semitic borrowings || Ch: ? (W) Kariyatákyál || (E) Tobanga dūgūri (Jg),

Sokoro dógol id. (JgIb 1994, 124-25) || ? Eg *dnhr*, Demotic *tnhr* "elephant" (Müller, *WZKM* 10[1896], 203-05) - see Blažek 1994, 199-200: AA + Alt.

Cf. Alt \**ḡigan* "elephant" > Tk: Chagatai *jiḡan*, MTK *jaḡan*, Tuvin *čān* etc. id. (Räsänen 1969, 177-78) || Mong *ḡigan* id. (if it is not borrowed from a Turkic *ḡ*-dialect).

50. Dr \**allī-yaḡ*- "female elephant"

AA \**ʔalw-/ʔaly-* > ? Sem: Akk *alū* "mythical giant gull", perhaps "wisent; Bison bonasus" (Diakonoff, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 8[1981], 32: Akk + Berb), cf. Sum *alim* "wisent" ? (AHw 39, 36) || Cu: (E) pBoni \**ālshī* "female elephant" (Heine 1982, 104) || ? Berb \**Hiliw* > Ahaggar *ēlu* (Prasse 1974, 125), lulemidden *eləw*, Ayr *iləw* (Alojaly); Zenaga *əžəh* (Nicolas) "elephant".

51. Dr \**pōri* "bull" (D 4593: I, II)

AA \**par(r)-* "bull" > Sem \**parr-* > Akk *parru* "Lamm, Jungschaf", *parratu* "weibliches Lamm", cf. also *pārum* "ein Rind" (AHw 834, 836), Ugar *pr* "young cattle", *prt* "young cow", Hebr *par* "bull, bullock, steer", *pārā(h)* "cow", Jewish Aram *parʔlā* id., Syr *par-ō* "ewe lamb", Arab *farr* "calf", *farīr*, *furār* "lamb, wild calf, young gazelle", Mehri *fōr* "bull" (Aistleitner 1965, 159-60; Klein 1987, 522; Fox, *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 11[1998], 20; he separates it from the word \**par(a)ʔ-* "onager") || Ch: (C) Margi *fūr* "buffalo" (Hoffmann), Kilba *fūr* id. (Meek) || Eg (MK) *pry* "Bezeichnung des Kampfstiers" (Wb. I, 526). Orel & Stolbova (1994, 418, #1950) mention isolated Mbara (CCh) *fārāy* "bétail, dot", i.e. "bride wealth" (Tourneux, Seignobos & Lafarge 1986, 260).

Cf. Kartv \**pur-* "cow" (EWKS 363) || IE \**por(w/stH)-* "young bull, calf" (Pokorny 1959, 818) - see Bomhard & Kerns 1995, # 50: Sem + Kartv + IE + Dr; Dolgopolsky 1995: Nostr \**[m]ori* "(female, young ?) ruminant artiodactyl (esp. bovine)" > AA + Kartv + IE + Dr.

52. Dr \**mar-* "deer, bison" (D 4724: I, III ?, VI) and / or \**mūri* "bull, cow" (D 5041: I, VI)

AA \**mar[w]-* "bull, ram, goat, calf" > ? Sem \**ʔimar-* > Akk *immeru(m)*, Assy *emmeru(m)* "Schaf, Widder", *immertu(m)* "Mutterschaf" (AHw 378), cf. *mīru(m)*, *mēru(m)* "Zuchtstier", *mīrtu(m)*, *mērtu(m)* "Zuchkuh" (AHw 658) ?; Ugar *imr* "lamb", Phoen *ʔmr*, Bibl-Aram *ʔimmʔrā*, Arab *ʔimmar* id. (Aistleitner 1965, 24-25) || Cu: (E) Afar *maruw/y*, pl. *marwa* "ram" (Parker & Hayward), Saho *maru* id. (Welmers); Rendille *māar m*, *maār f*, *maarō* pl. "calf" (Galboran & Pillinger), Arbore *maar* "calf" (Hayward); Hadiya *moora* "calf; ox, bull", Kambatta *baaʔl-mmora* "older calf" (Hudson) || Om: (N) Wolayta *mara* "offspring of sheep or goat", Gamu *mara* "calf", Shinasha *mereera* "sheep" (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 465) || ? Eg (Greek) *mr(y)* "Kampfstier", *mr.t* "schwarze Kuh" (Wb. II, 106) || Ch: (W) Tangale *mara* "large castrated he-goat" (Jg); Polchi *maar* "goat", Buli *mar*, Dira *marə* id. (Kraft); Bokkos *maray* "ram" (Jg) || (C) Mafa *mari* "bull" (Kraft), Gidar *múrgo* "he goat" (Mouchet). See Militarev 1990, 38: Sem + Saho-Afar + SBAuchi. Cf. Sum *amar* "calf" (Militarev 1984 ms.: Sum + AA).

53. Dr \**kaʔ-/kiʔ-* "male of sheep or goat, he-buffalo" (D 1123: I, II, III, VI, VII, VIII)

(i) AA \**gady-* > Sem \**gady-* "kid, goat" > Akk *gadū*, Ug *gdy*, Punic *gdʔ*, Hebrew *gʔd̄*, Aram *gadyā*, Ar *ḡady* (Cohen 1970f, 100) || Cu: (E) Oromo of Borana *gadamsa* "antelope kudu" (Stroemer), Sidamo *godanné* "sheep, lamb" (Hudson) || Ch: (W) Gera *gadere* "bushbock", Ngizim *gaduwa* "antelope duiker" (Skinner) or (ii) AA \**kid-/kayd-*: Berb \**ʔayd-* "kid" > (E) Siwa *iyīd* "ram", Sokna *iyīd* "kid" (Laoust) || (N) Kabyle *iyīd* id. (Dallet) || (S) Ayr & lulemidden *eḡāyd* (Alojaly), Ahaggar *eḡāyd* id. (Prasse) || (W) Zenaga *igédi* id. (R. Basset); cf. further the Sem forms as Akk *nāqīdu(m)*, Hebrew *nōqēd*, Syrian *nuqdō* "shepherd", Arab *naqad* "sheep of weak race" and Om: (N) Kafa, Mocha *qiddo* "shepherd, herdsman" (Leslau) - cf. Militarev 1990, 49.

To both these etymons there are interesting parallels in IE: (i) IE \**gʔaid-* > Shugnigidik "ram" < \**gaidika-*; Latin *haedus*, Sabin *faedus* "he-goat", Germanic \**gait-* "goat"; \**kad-* > Middle Irish *cadla*, Middle High Germanic *hatele* "goat", ONorse *hadna* "young goat" (cf. Boutkan & Kossman, *JIES* 27[1999], 89-90), although AA \**-d-* & Dr \**-ʔ-* imply Nostr \**-d-* > IE \**-dʔ-*. From this point of view, AA \**gady-* agrees with Germ \**kidja-* "kid" < \**gidʔyo-*; now the initials do not correspond.

54. Dr \**ʔāʔu* "sheep, goat" (D 5152: I, II, III, VI, VII, VIII); cf. also \**iʔ-* "herdsman caste" (D 450: I)

AA \**ʔayd-* > Cu: (E) Saho *ʔeydo* "sheep" (Welmers) = *ʔeydo/ʔido* id., besides *ida* "female adult sheep" (Lamberti), Asa-Lisan *ʔidoo* pl. "sheep" (Conti Rosini), Afar *ida* "ewe" (Parker & Hayward); Som *aḡli* "sheep and goats", but *ido* "flock of sheep" (Abraham), Rendille *ádi* "goats, sheep", pl. *adéy* "flocks/herds of sheep & goats" (Galboran & Pillinger), Bayso *idaado & ʔidaado* "sheep" (Haberland & Lamberti); Arbore *ʔeḡi* "sheep and goats" (Hayward), Elmolo *édi* "goat" (Heine), Dasenech *ʔeḡe* "goat" (Tosco). The unexpected *-ḡ-* is perhaps connected with a compensatoric loss of the initial \**ʔ-* || ? Berb: (S) Ahaggar *ādaida*, pl. *idaidān* "chevreau cuit sous la cendre" (Foucauld; Militarev 1984, 58: ECU + Ahaggar + Sum *udu* "sheep", but it is better compatible with Siwa *audād* (Laoust) || Ahaggar *ūdad* "mouflon" < pTuared \**Hūdād*, cf. Prasse 1974, 70). Cf. MEI *hidu* "sheep" (McAlpin 1981, 97: Dr + El; Blažek 1999, 64: Dr + AA + El).

55. Dr \**ciḡk-* "antelope" (D 2504: I, II, III)

AA \**zink-* "gazelle, antelope" > Berb: (E) Ghadames *azenkaḡ* (Lanfry), Sokna *azḡnkot*; (N) Semail *azḡnkʔ* (after Militarev); (W) Zenaga *azḡkaḡ* "gazelle dorcas" (Nicolas); (S) Ahaggar *āhḡnkot*, lulemidden, Ayr *azḡnkot* "gazelle" (Prasse 1969, 60, #319: \**z-n-k-ḡ*) || Ch: (W) Hausa *zānkéé* "buk duiker"; Angas *zūng* "the *kanki* antelope" (Foulkes) || (C) Kilba *nzāu* "gazelle"; Lamang *zəḡhāḡḡ* id. (Stolbova 1996, 130).

56. Dr \**kaḡru-ay* "ass" (D 1364: I-V, VII)

AA \**k/kʔar-* "ass" > ? Sem: Jibbali *qérāḡ* "donkey" (Johnstone 1987, 235 connects it with Mehri *qərāḡ* "homless"; cf. CJibbali *qérḡ* "to all the hair off") or Arab *ʔakurr* "colt, foal", dial. *kurr* "young of an ass" (cf. Militarev 1990, 46) || ? Cu: (E) Dasenech *kirif* "male donkey" (Tosco) || Om: (N) Chara *kuro*, Bench & She *kur*, Kafa, Anfilla *kuro* "ass" (Cerulli), Mocha *kuro* id. (Leslau) || Ch: (W) Karekare, Bolewa *koro*, Ngamo *kōrō*, Ngizim *kwara*, Bade *koro* "ass" (Kraft) || (C) Tera *kooro* (Newman), Chibak, Margi *kwara*, Kilba *kwará*, Bachama *kwarcytō*, Massa *korá* (Kraft), Buduma *koro*, Ngala *kooro* etc. (cf. Sölken 1967, 237) || (E) Tumak *kōrā* (Caprile), Sumray *korá* (Friedrich), Nangire, Dormo, Kabalai *kurá*, Gulei *kuru* etc. id. (Lukas 1937, 79, 89, 91, 92, 94). A mutual influence of the Chadic forms and Kanuri *koro* id. is more than probable. Cf. IE: Old Indic *khāra*- "ass", Avestan *xara-* id., Khotanese *khara-*, Pashto *xár*, (Middle) Persian *xar* id. (Eilers, *Welt des Orients* 2[1959], 467, fn. 1 derived the Indo-Iranian forms from Akk [Mari] *ḡārum* id. vs. Akk *ajarum* < WSem \**ʔayaru(m)* "ass" - cf. AHw 328); Alb *kérr* id. (Orel, *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 28[1987], 147).

57. Dr \**ivujī* "horse" (D 500: I, VIII), originally perhaps "onager; Equus hemionus", the only equid native in South Asia while the horse (*Equus caballus*) was introduced into South Asia after 2000 BC (McAlpin 1981, 147)

AA \**ʔibil-* ~ \**ʔilib-* > Sem \**ʔibil-* "camel" > Akk *ibīlu*, Syrian *hebatā*, Arab *ʔib(i)l*, Thamudic, Safaitic, Sabaic *ʔbi*, Šheri *iyél*; cf. also Arab *ʔalab* "rassembler les chameaux" (Cohen 1970f, 3) || ? Eg *irb3* "rhinoceros" (Wb. I, 115); rC3 can reflect a specific Egyptian spelling for \**Cl* or \**IC*, cf. png3, Coptic *πωλḡ* "separate" vs. Arab *falag* "separate in two" (Vycichl 1958, 374); as a cognate to Sem, Takács. p.c. prefers Eg (OK) *ib3w* "Barbary sheep; Ovis tragelaphus" (Wb. I, 62) - cf. Blažek 1999, 64 || ? Berb \**Hiliw* "elephant" (Prasse 1974, 124-25) > Ayr *iləw*, lulemidden *eləw* (Alojaly), Ahaggar *ēlw* (Prasse) etc. || (W) Zenaga *ḡḡih*, *ḡḡih* "elephant" (Nicolas) || ? Ch: (E) Mokilko *ʔēlbi* id. (Jg), besides Lele *bilá-hé* "donkey" (Weibegué & Palayer; cf. Orel & Stolbova 1995, 24, #90: Sem + Lele). Cf. MEI *lakpilan* "horse", maybe from \**laki-[i]pilan* where the first component corresponds to El *laki-* "to travel" (Blažek 1999, 64: Dr + Sem + El).

58. Dr \**civ(y)anki* "leopard, lynx, hyena" (D 2579: I, III)

AA \**ʔiʔb-* "wolf, jackal, hyena, lion" > Sem \**diʔb-* > Akk *zibu*, *zibū* "jackal, vulture", Hebr *zəʔeḡ* "wolf", Aram of Palmyre *dʔb*, Jewish Aram *dēḡbā*, Syr *dʔʔbā*, Arab *ḡiʔb* "wolf, jackal", Mehri *ḡiyā:b* (Nakano),



Jibbali *d̥b*, Soqotri *d̥b* "wolf", Geez *zəʔb* & *zəb*? "hyena", Tigray *zəbʔi* id., Amh *zəb* id. (Leslau 1987, 630; Cohen 1970f, 324); cf. also the Sabaic proper name *Md̥ʔb* (Biella 1982, 90) ||| Cu: (E) HECu \**dzoobba* "lion" > Kambatta *zoobba*, Hadiya *hoobba*, Sidamo *dobb-icco*, pl. *dobbe* (Hudson 1989, 92) = *doobba*, Tembaro *zobbe-ččo*, Alaba *zobe-ččo*, Qabenna *zoobbóo* id.; cf. also SOM parallels (perhaps borrowed from HECu): Baka *zab* id. (Leslau, *AuŪ* 63[1980], 120), Galila *zob(ba)*, Hamer *zəbə*, Karo *zobo*, Dime *zop* (Bender) ||| Eg (Pyr) *z3b* & *zb* "jackal", besides *dyby-w* "wolves, jackals, hyenas" (Budge), cf. also *d-b* plus the ideogram "jackal" in the Coffin Texts (Vycichl 1958, 383) ||| Ch: ? (W) Ngizim *Jlbdá* "civet cat" (Schuh) || (E) Migama *jábbyá* "hyena" (Jg), Bidiya *jébeyge* id. (Alio & Jg). Orel & Stolbova 1995, #2660 also quote Beja (NCu) *diib* "wolf" (Reinisch) and Zayan of Ishqem (NBerb) *ðendibbun* "jackal" (Loubignac). Both the words are apparent borrowings from Arabic; in the latter case "son of *glʔb*".

Cf. IE \**stib*<sup>(h)</sup>-yo- > Slavic \**stǫbjь* "wild cat" > Church Slavonic *stǫbь*, OPolish (1472) *step*, later *zdeb* & *zdbik*, today *zbiik* (Blažek 1992, 20-21: Dr + Alt + Slavic).

59. Dr \**eruvay* "eagle, kite" (D 818: I)

AA \**ʕaryw-* "eagle" > Sem: Akk *erū(m)*, arū "eagle" (AHw 247, 72), Jewish Aram *ʕārā*, *ʕaryā* id. (Zimmern 1915, 51) ||| Cu: (N) Beja *Er'e* "eagle" (Roper) = *éer'e* "weisschwanzige Seeadler" (Reinisch) = *eeri* "hawk" (Hudson).

Cf. Kartv \**orb-* "eagle" > Georgian *orb-i*, Swan verb id. ||| IE \**H<sub>3</sub>er-/\*H<sub>3</sub>or-* "eagle; bird" (Pokorny 1959, 325-26; Greppin in EIEC 173) and also Sum *hu-ri-in* "eagle".

Illič-Svityč, *Ētimologija* 1965[67], 352: Sem + IE. Bomhard & Kerns 1995, #406 compare IE + Dr + Sum + Eg *ḥr(w)* "the hawk-like god Horus" (Vycichl 1983, 307-08). But the Egyptian theonym perfectly agrees with Arab *ḥurr* in *ḥayr al-ḥurr* "falcon" (Zimmern 1915, 51 connected the Arab word with Akk *iššur ḥuri* "Steinhuhn" - see AHw 390, lit. "Höhlnvogel", but the correspondence of laryngeals is not regular).

60. Dr \**ciṛ-* "sp. bird" (D 2582: VI)

AA \**ciṛ(Vʕ)* (~ \**ʕVṛVr-* ?) "bird" > ? Sem: Akk *iššuru*, Ugar *ʕiṣr* "bird" (but Arab *ʕiṣfūr* "kleiner Vogel", cf. Aistleitner 1965, 239; maybe a compound of \**ʕ-w-p* "to fly" > Hebr *ʕāp* id., *ʕōp* "bird", & \**ʕvr-*) ||| Cu: (E) Oromo of Wellega *čirrii* "bird" (Gragg); HECu \**čijja* id. > Burji *čijǰaa*, Hadiya *čii* "icco" etc. (Hudson 1989, 27 admits a borrowing from Oromo) || (S) Iraqwtisrʕi, Burunge, Alagwa *ciraʕa*, Asa *širaʕa* "bird" (Ehret 1980, 226: \**ʕaaraʕ-*) ||| ? Om: (N) Kachama *čera* id. (Bender) ||| Ch: (W) Hausa *tsiryaa* "parakeet" || (E) Kabalai *čerrá*, Ndam *čádiny* "bird" (Jglb 1994, 23).

Note: The Dravidian word is alternatively compatible with Kartv \**sir-* "bird" (EWKS 301) and perhaps with Alt \**sa(i)rV* > Tk \**sar(y)* "sp. falcon" || Mong *sar* "bird of prey" || Korean \**saī* "bird" (AED #995). With regard to Dr \**-r-* one would expect Tk \**f*. On the other hand, Illič-Svityč (1971, 152) assumed the development \**-rj-* / \**-j-* > Dr \**-r-*. The latter case agrees with the Alt reconstruction \**sairV*.

61. Dr \**peja* "pigeon, dove" (D 4420: I, III)

AA \*(m-)bul- "dove" > ? Sem: Ar *bulbul*, pl. *balābil* "nightingale", *ballala* "coo (dove)"; the Gurage forms as Soddó, Gogot etc. *bullal*, Muher *bulle* "pigeon" and Amh *bullal*, *bəlul* "turtle-dove" can be of an Oromo origin (cf. Leslau 1979, 141) ||| Cu: (N) Beja *bébel* "wild dove" (Reinisch 1895, 47: Beja + Arab + Oromo) || (E) Oromo *bulula* (Tutschek) = Macha *bulala* "dove" (LVC) ||| Berb: (N) Kabyle *θamella/i* "dove" (F.W. Newman), B. Iznacen *θmállá* "turtle-dove" (Destaing) ||| Ch: (W) \**bulV* > Hausa *bóólóo*, Angas, Chip *bul*, Ankwe *bəl*, Sura *m̥bul*; Tangale *tambul* "turtle-dove", Bolewa *mboole* "dove" (Stolbova 1987, 156) = *bole* (Kraft), Karekare *βeləw̄l* (Kraft) || (C) Tera *mboola* "dove" (Newman), Pidlimdi *m̥bōledl*; Hildi *m̥butá*, Wamdiu *būta* id. (Kraft) || (E) Gabri *bélu* id. (Lukas), Kwang *bəlōki* id. (Jg), ? Bidiya *bullé* "sp. bird" (Alio & Jg). Greenberg 1963, 55, #24: Ch + Berb + Eg (OK) *m̥nw.t* "Taube" (Wb. II, 79) which could be borrowed (probably during the New Kingdom) into Nile Nubian: Mahas & Fadijāmin(n) *ē* id. (cf. Reinisch 1911, 109). The Eg ornithonym is safely compatible with the Nbauchi (WCh) forms as Warji *m̥nūwái*, Kariya *m̥úúnú*

"bird" (Skinner) and maybe Bidiya (ECh) *mininiyo* "sp. bird" (Alio & Jg). The witness of both the external comparisons exclude the primary \**-l-* in Eg. Similarly Eg *m̥n.t* "Schwalbe" (Wb. II, 68) continuing in Coptic **BHNI** id. (Vycichl 1983, 28) indicates the medial \**-n-* and not \**-l-*.

Cf. IE \**b<sup>h</sup>ol-* "dove" > Osset Digor *bəlon*, Iron *bəlaw*, Zaza *baurá*; Lithuanian *balañdis* id. (Abaev I, 249).

62. Dr \**kor-* "fowl" (D 2160: IV, V, VI)

AA \**kur-/\*karw-* "fowl, partridge" > Sem: Syr? *akkorāyā* "cock", Arab *karawān* "a kind of partridge" ||| Cu: (N) Beja *kaakarret* "hen" (Thelwall) || ? Berb: (S) Ahaggar *ékort* "nestling, esp. of an ostrich" (Foucauld) ||| Ch: (W) Hausa *kurciya* "dove" (Skinner 1996, 154), Montol *kier* "hen" (Jg), Buli *kworr*, Zaar *kwār* "chicken" (Jglb 1994, 70) || (C) Gude *kurkwutá*, Nzangi *kurkuta*, Glavda *kákura*, Lame *kòrókú* "dove" (Kraft); Mofu *kwerekwere* "duck" || (E) Kera *akorkoro* "duck", Dangla *kókirá*, Jegu *kókóré*, Mubi *kúrrí*, Migama *kúkkerá* "chicken" (Jglb 1994, 71). Cf. Militarev (1984 ms.: Sem + Ahaggar + Ch + Sum). An onomatopoeitic origin is not excluded.

Cf. IE \**kerko-* "cock" (Pokorny 1959, 568) and maybe Sum *kur-gi*, "goose" > Akk *kurkú* id.; cf. also *kurukku* "duck" ?

63. Dr \**tār-* "duck" (D 3169: I)

AA \**dirw-* "sp. bird (hen ?)" > Sem: Hebrew *d̥rōr*, OArām *dr̥r* "sp. bird (swallow ?, dove ?)", Arab *durat* "parrot", ? Gurage of Maskat *darri* "sp. bird" (Cohen 1970f, 319), if it is not borrowed from Hadiya *diré* id. (Leslau 1979, 218) ||| Cu: (N) Beja *andirhe* & *endirhe* "fowl" (Rop) || (C) Bilin *diruwa* "hen, chicken" (Reinisch), Kemant *dirwo*, pl. *diruk* "hen, cock, chicken" (Conti Rossini), Awngi *dúra* "hen" (Hetzron) etc.; Geez *dor(o)ho* "chicken, hen, rooster, cock, fowl", Tigre *derho*, Amh *doro* etc. id. (Leslau 1987, 142) can be of an Agaw origin || (E) Afar *dorrahe* "hens" (Parker & Hayward), Som *dooro* "chicken, hen" (Abraham), Jiddu *duuri* "chicken" (Banti & Ibraaw), Hadiya *diré* "sp. bird" (Leslau) ||| Om: (N) Charadeera "hen" (Cerulli) ||| Ch: (W) Hausa *durwaa* "quail" || (E) Sumray *dūrē* "chicken" (Jg) and / or Mokilko *dééré* (Jg), Kwang *dére* "dove" (Lukas).

Cf. Sum *dar* "partridge" (cf. Militarev 1984, 58: AA + Sum).

64. Dr \**čev-* "fowl" (D 2818: I, VII) and / or \**čuvv-* "peacock" (D 2676: VII)

AA: Ch \**(n)ʒabun* "guinea fowl" (Stolbova 1996, 43) > (W) Hausa *zāábóó*, Gwandara *jábūwa*; Pa'a *jávuna*, Diri *ázávúná*; Jimi *zubbun*, Zakshi *zubun*; Ngizim *záabánú*, Bade *sááványín* || (C) Tera *civán*; Higi Kamale *zāvung*; Gude *zòvəna*, Gudu *zúvún*; Laamang *zòvənááká*; Glavda *žábóra*; Muktele *zāvúr*, Gisiga *tsuvon*; Daba *zāvín*; Gidar *zavuna*; Logone *sáʔin*; Zime-Batna *cófnók* || ? (E) Migama *zóbíló*; Jegu *zóbóló* etc. (Jglb 1994, 174-75).

65. Dr \**māc-* "python" (D 4793: I, V, VI)

AA \**mVS-* "snake" > Cu: (E) \**maš-* > Som *mas* "snake"; Oromo *mas-ka* "serpente boa con le corna" (Thiene); Sidamo *mašo* (Cerulli) & *hamaššo* (\**hamas-ččo*), Hadiya *hamašša*, Burji *hamasi* id., Kambatta *hamaasu* "roundworm" (Sasse, *AuŪ* 59[1975-76], 127; Id. 1982, 90-91; Hudson 1989, 137: HECu \**hamasa* which can represent a contamination of the forms corresponding to the Somali synonyms *mas* & *abeeso*) ||| Ch: (W) Hausa *meesáa* "python", Gwandara *meše*; Gera *músi*, Pero *mucl* id. (Kraft).

Cf. Sum *muš* "snake". Militarev 1984[ms.]: Sum + ECU + Ch + Sem: Jibbali *miss* "to bite (of snake)".

66. Dr \**kapp-* "frog" (D 1224: I-III, VI, VII?)

AA \**kub(b)-* "toad" > Cu: (E) \**kub-* > Harso, Gollango *hup-e*; Konso *kup-aata* id.; ? Burji *kóop-i* id., if it is not borrowed from Koyra (Sasse 1982, 117) ||| ? Om: (N) Koyra *koppe* id. Cf. IE \**g<sup>h</sup>eb<sup>h</sup>-* "frog" (Pokorny 1959, 466).

67. Dr \**kār-* "fish" (D 1476: I)

AA \**karyw-* "fish" > ? Sem: Aram (Babyl/Talm) *kwwr?*; Soqotri *kér* "sp. shark" (Naumkin) and / *orkúwerhor* "sp. fish" (Leslau) ||| Cu: ? (N) Beja *kware* in *ašoob kwaremng* "fisherman" (Hudson) || (E) Dasenech *káara*

"fish" (Haberland); Gollango *haare*, Harso-Dobase *xaariccé*, pl. *xáare* (AMS), Tsamakko *xáare* (Hayward) || Om (S) Hamer *kara* (Lydall), Banna *kaara* id. (Bender) || Ch: (W) Hausa *kírfí*; Yiwom *k'iráp*; Kulere *kírfí*; Bolewa *keɽwo*; Siri *kerfei*; Kír *cirap* || (C) Tera *yurwú*; Nzangi *húrfé*; Sukur *k'iráf*; Gisiga *kolef*; Daba *kílfí*; Gidar *kílfí*; Musgu *hílfí*; Zime-Batna *kérfé* etc. "fish" (JgIb 1994, 140-41; Stolbova 1996, 62-63: Ch \*kirop-). Cf. Ural \*kōrV "sp. fish" (UEW 187) || Alt: Tk \*kōra "trout" (Räsänen 1969, 282) || Tung \*koru "pike" (TMS I, 404); cf. also Sum *kír*, *kiri*, *gir*, "fish". Militarev 1984 [ms.]: Sem + ECu + Ch + Sum.

68. Dr \*malānku "eel" (D 4737: I-III, VI)

AA \*mal(w)- "fish" > Cu: (E) Som *mallay*, May *mallaallay*, Jiddu *malay* (Banti & Ibraaw), pBoni \*mālōlāi (Heine), Bayso *moole*; Mossiya *moole* "fish" (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 461) || Om: (S) Ubamer *mol-ta*, Galila *mola* id. (Fleming) || (N) Wolayta *moliya*, Zala *muoliya*, Dawro *molya*, Gofa *mola/molo*, Malo, Kachama *molo*, Gamu, Dache, Zayse *mole*, Koyra *malala*, Chara *mula* etc. "fish" (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 461) || Ch: (W) SBAuchi: Mbaru *mwalag*, Guruntum *mollag* id. (Shimizu) || Eg (D XVIII) *mr.t* "ein Tier (zwischen Fischen genannt)" (Wb. II, 105; cf. Takács, *Lingua Posnaniensis* 39[1997], 93: Eg + EC + NO + Guruntum; following Cohen 1947, #466, he also quotes 'Sidamo' *múoliyā*, in reality 'West Sidomo', i.e. Omotic, concretely Zala after Cerulli) and, maybe, *mr* in the name Nſr-mr (*Narmer*), the king of the 1st ("0th"?) Dynasty, lit. "Catfish"? (Takács, *Živa antika* 48[1998], 134; he mentions other names of the "0th" Dynasty as K3 "Bull" or Srq "Scorpion"); or AA \*mul(ɸ)- "lizard" > Cu: (E) Afar *mulluɸit* (Reinisch); Som *mulaɸ*, *muluɸ*, Rendille *mulúh* id. (Heine 1978, 91) || Berb: (N) B. Menacer *mulab* id., Kabyle of Jurjura *imulab* "Algerian lizard" (R. Basset, *JA* 1885, 174) || Ch: (W) Hausa *mulwa* "a short thick snake" || (C) Kobochi *malwaa*, Nzangi *mālawā*, Holma *malwé* "chameleon" (Strümpell). Takács (*Studia etymologica Cracoviensia* 1[1996], 147) adds Eg (Greek) *mn̄h* in *k3-mn̄h* "Schildkröte" (Wb. V, 96) which represents an attractive cognate esp. of ECu \*mulɸ-. Cf. IE: Arm *molēz* "lizard"; OSaxon, OHigh German *mol*, German *Molch* "salamander".

69. Dr \*mīn(u) "fish" (D 4885: I-III, V, VI)

AA \*mVn- "fish; lizard" > ? Sem: Akk (u)mūnu "Larve, Raupe" (AH 673), Syrian *ʔāmūnā* "sp. lizard" (Zimmern 1915, 52 assumed Akk > Syr) || Berb: (N) Susamun "sp. fish" || (S) lulemidden *emān* (Alojaly), Adghaq *emən*, Taneslēt *emən* "fish" (Prasse 1974, 145: pTuareg \*ʔ-manāhan; Militarev 1991, 260: Berb + IE). The semantic difference is comparable with German *Raupe* vs. Slavic *ryba* "fish". Cf. IE \*m̄ni- "sp. fish" (Pokorny 1959, 731) || FU \*menV "sp. fish" (FUV 99; SKES 347-48).

70. Dr \*irāma- "sp. fish" (D 5166: I, III)

AA: Eg (OK) *rm* "fish", Demotic *rym* & *rm* id., Coptic *ⲣⲏⲙⲉ* "the fish Tilapia" (Wb. II, 416; Vycichl 1983, 172). Takács (*Živa antika* 48[1998], 139-40) connected Eg *rm* "fish" with AA \*rim- "worm, ant, termite", but there is a more preferable cognate in Dr \*erumpu "ant" (see below).

71. Dr \*kuṇi/\*kunni "bee" (D 1867: I, II?)

AA: Cu: (E) \*kan(n)-/\*kinn- "bee" > Som *šinn-i*, Oromo of Wellega *kann-ii-sa* (Gragg), Borana, Waata, Orma *kinn-ii-sa* (Stroemer), Konso *xan-ta*, Dirayta *han-t(a)* id. (Sasse 1979, 24). Bomhard (1984, 235, #143) connected it with IE \*kṷHko- "honey-colored" > Germ \*xunaga- "honey" in agreement with his system of correspondences. In the system formulated by Illič-Svityč, a regular correspondent of IE \*k is AA \*k̄.

72. Dr \*tak(Vn)- "bedbug" (D 2996: I, II)

AA \*tuk(ən)- "biting insect: bedbug, tick" > Sem: Jewish Aram *takk-* "moth", besides Geez *tōkʷən*, Tigre, Gurage *tōkan*, Amh *tōʿən*, Harari *tuxān* "bedbug" (Leslau 1987, 573), although these forms can be borrowed from Agaw; does also belong here Arab *kuttān*, Mehri *kettōn* "bedbug" via metathesis? || Cu: (C) Bilin, Khamir *təʷana* "bedbug", Qwara *tukan* "Wanze" (Reinisch), Kemant *təxona* ~ *təʷona* "bug" (Zealelem), Awngi *təʷānā* id. (Hetzron) || (E) Saho *tukwān* "fleas" (Welmers), Afar *tōkwaan* "Wanze" (Reinisch), Oromo

of Macha *tukani* "bedbug" (LVC), Borana *tukaani* id. (Stroemer), Qabenna *tuhaana* id. (Leslau) || Dahalo *ṭakkwaʿe* "dung beetle" (Ehret) || (S) ? Iraqw *tāḥān-mo* "bedbug" (Whiteley) || Eg (Pyr) *tkk.t* "Schlupfwespe (Ichneumonida)" (Wb. V, 336). Orel & Stolbova (1995, #2359) add Nbauchi forms as Mburku, Siri *takwana*, Diri *takwan* "bleed" (Skinner).

73. Dr \*erumpu "ant" (D 864: I) and / or \*elumpu "white ant" (D 837: V, VI)

AA \*rim- > Sem \*rimm-at- > Akkrimmatum "Made" (AHw 986), Hebrew *rimmā*, Aram *rāmat-* "worms (in rotten meat, corpse)", Arab *rimmat* "winged ant" || Cu: (E) \*rim(m)- (with the variant \*raam-, probably representing the a-plural) > Saho *rimme*, *rimmi* "termite, worm, maggot in rotten meat / corpse" (Reinisch), Rendille *ririm*, Bayso *iririm*, Dasenech *ʿarmaatti*, Oromo *rir(i)ma* "termite, white ant" (Thiene), Wellega *raammoo* "worm, parasite", *rimma* (Gragg), Macha *rimma*, *rimma* "termite" (LVC), Borana, Orma *rammoo* "worm" (Stroemer), Konso *irmatta*, Dirayta *irrimašš* "termite" (Black), Gollango *irmátte* "termite" (AMS), Burji *hirrima*, Hadiya *irm-acco*, Sidamo *raammoo* "termite" (Sasse 1982, 97) || Ch: (E) Bidiya *ʔiririmo* "insecte", *ʔiriririj* "petit termite qui sort le jour" (Alio & Jg) - cf. Takács, *Živa antika* 48[1998], 139: Sem + ECu + Bidiya + Eg *rm* "fish".

AA \*IVm- "termite, ant, worm" > Sem: Akk *lamattu* (\*lamātu), Eblaite *la-ma-an* (\*lamān) "ant" (Sjöberg, *Welt des Orients* 37[1996], 24), besides Hebrew *n̄mālā(h)*, Arab *namī* "ant" with metathesis of the 1st and 3rd radicals || Cu (E) Som *lulumo* "larvae of mosquito" (Abraham); ? Oromo of Borana *lime* "termite" (LVC) || Ch: (C) Ngwaxi, WMargi *lema*, Chibak *limá*, Bura, Higi *Kamale lumá* "termite" (Kraft) || (E) Jegu *lólóm* "ant" (Jg).

74. Dr \*ko[tt]- "black ant" (D 2096: I, III, IV?, V, VI?) and / or \*ket(t)- "white ant" (D 1548: I, III, IV, VI)

AA \*gu[tt]- "worm, termite" > Cu: (E) Som *goḍalol* or *godalol* "worm" (d'Arpino); HECu \*gooḍa > Gedeo *koḍamo*, Sidamo *gooḍaamo* "big ant", besides Burji *gandulayse* "black ant" which is connected with Oromo *gondaa* and Amh *gundan* (Hudson 1989, 20) || Om: (N) Wolayta *guḥuniya* "worm", Gamugucune id., Dache, Zayse *guḥume*, Malo *guḥine* id. (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 380).

75. Dr \*por- "winged insect, winged ant" (D 4568: VI)

AA: Cu: (N) Beja *biret* ~ (e)mbiret "white ant, termite" (Hudson) = *birát*, with the article *tembirát* "termites, white ants" (Roper) || (E) Som *aboor* "termites" (Abraham), Boni *aboor* id. (Heine) || ? Ch: (C) Fali *Mucela mūbu(ʷ)*, Gude *mubḥrā* "termites" (Kraft).

#### D. Flora

76. Dr \*kā(n) "forest" (D 1418: I-III)

AA \*ka[w]jn- "forest, tree" > Cu: (C) Bilin, Qwara, Kemant *kana* (Appleyard), Awngi *kani* "tree" (Hetzron) || (E) Som *kayn*, pl. *kaymo* "thicket" (Abraham); ? Burji *kaan-* "bark of tree" (Sasse) || (S) Iraqw *kintu* "thicket" (Ehret 1980, 331) || ? Eg (Greek) *kwn.t* "Name eines heiligen Baumes" (Wb. V, 117) || Ch: (W) Angas *kūg* "tree" (Foulkes); Kariya *kənān* id. (Skinner); Mangas *kiin*, Zul *kiini* "tree, wood" (Shimizu); Bade *kūnū* "forest" (Kraft) || (C) Musgu *kwaanā* "dom-palm" (Krause); Banana *kuná* (Lukas), Masa *guna* "tree, wood" (Kraft).

77. Dr \*tūr- "bushes" (D 3401: I)

AA \*tarw- / ?\*taw(i)r- > Sem: ? Tigre *tor* "gable-beam in the roof" (Littmann & Höfner 1962, 307) || Cu: (E) Som *tīir* "post, pillar" (Luling) || Eg (med; Dyn XVIII) *twr* "sp. reed?" and / or (NK) *twr.t* "Stock, Stab aus Holz" (Wb. V, 252) || Ch: (W) Hausa *taruwa* "sp. tree" || Berb: (N) Aksimen *atru* "a kind of pole" (Orel & Stolbova 1995, ##2375, 2383). Cf. IE \*derw- "wood, tree" (Pokorny 1959, 214-17).

78. Dr \*kar- "firewood" (D 1389: I, III-VI) or \*kor/ɾ- "firebrand" (D 2229: I, III, VI) or \*kuɾ- "piece of wood" (D 1842: I-III)

AA \*kar(w)- "wood, tree" > Sem \*kār- > Akk *karītu* "Kornboden, Speicher", Hebrew *kōrā*, Aram, Syriac *kārīṭā* "beam", Arab *qarīyat* "stick" (Dolgopolsky 1983, 135) || Cu: (E) \*kor- > Saho or- "to hew"; Som *qori*



"wood", Jiddu qorów "firewood" (Banti & Ibraaw), Boni 'óre, Rendille xóro "(fire)wood" (Heine), Bayso oro "wood, forest" (Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 71); Arbore kor "tree" m., "wood" f. (Hayward), Dasenechgor id., Elmolo ór "tree" (Heine); Oromo of Wellega qor-aan "firewood" (Gragg), Konso qoyr-a, Dirayta koyr "tree, wood" (Sasse 1979, 48) || Dahalo koro "tree" (Tosco).

Cf. IE \*kwr-es-(no-) > Greek κρήνη "hill oak"; Welsh prenn, Old Irish crann "tree"; Old English hyrst "bush" (Pokorny 1959, 633).

79. Dr \*mukk- "piece of wood" (D 5109: I, III, VI)

AA: Cu: (E) \*muk- "sp. tree" > Som muk(o)l "sycamore" (Cerulli), pBoni \*múkáy "tamarind" (Heine), Oromo of Wellega muka "tree, bush, woody" (Gragg) || (S) Burunge muka "chaff"; Asa mogengera "root" (Ehret 1980, 343, 324: SCu+Or).

80. Dr \*tump- "Acacia arabica" (D 3335: III, IV, VI) and / or \*tump(Vr)- "ebony tree" (D 3329: I, III, IV-VI)  
AA \*damw- "a big tree" > Sem: Arab dawm "wild palm-tree" (Steingass 380), cf. the proper names motivated by this tree-name in Thamudic Dwm̄t and Safaytic Dm̄ (Müller 1962, 51-52); Mehri dóm "d.-tree" (Johnstone) = dóm(et) "Doompalme; Hyphaena thebaica" (Jahn); Tigray, Amh dōma "baobab; Adansonia digitata", Tigre dōma "bast of baobab" (Littmann & Höfner 1962, 514) || ? Cu: (E) Oromo of Wellega dambii "sp. tree" (Gragg) [Beja doom "dom-palm" < Arab dawm] || Berb: (S) Ahaggar t̄-damam-ī "sp. palm" (after Militarev), while Zenaga (W) ta-d̄m-iḡ, pl. t̄y-d̄umu "baobab" (R.Basset) is borrowed from Arab dawm || Ch: (W) Karekare dāmī, Kirfī, Galabru etc. dāmā "tamarind" (Schuh); Kariya d̄ambur, Mburku d̄ambor etc. "baobab" - cf. Miya dūm "tree" (Skinner); Ngizim d̄am "wood", Bade d̄am-ān "tree, wood" (Kraft) || (C) Gisiga dum "high tree" (Lukas), Muturia dum "tree" (Strümpell).  
Cf. FePerm \*tammo (Illič-Svityč) = \*toma "oak" (UEW 798) || Written Mong, Khalkha dom "lime-tree" (Dmitrieva 1972, 195).

81. Dr \*cāl- "Acacia" (D 2474: I, III)

AA \*śul-/\*śVl- "sp. tree (Acacia ?)" > ? Sem: Aram swl- "ulmus" (Brockelmann) || ? Cu: (E) Oromo of Wellega solooloo "sp. tree" (Gragg) || ? Om: (N) Mocha šolló "sp. tree" (Leslau), Kachama sola id. (Conti Rossini) || Eg (Dyn XVIII) š3 "tree" (Wb. IV, 400), Coptic Ⲫⲁⲩ "stem, bit, rest" (Vycichl 1983, 274) || Ch: (C) ? Kilba šilʔbū, Hildi šilwū "wood" (Kraft); Wandala šūlī "Ficus syziginifolia" (Lukas) || (E) Sokoro sullē "Acacia albida" and / or sūlē "Acacia sieberiana" (Lukas).  
Cf. IE \*salik- "willow" (Pokorny 1959, 879) || FU \*śala- "Ulmus" (UEW 458-59) || ? Alt: Mongsalaga "Verzweigung, Arm des Flusses, Zwischenraum zwischen den Fingern, Tal" (Ramstedt 1935, 309), cf. Yakut salā "branch, vine, arm of the river", Shor sala "Ast, Zweig, Schossling" etc. < Mong ? (Räsänen 1969, 397).

82. Dr \*cup- "tamarind" (D 2672: IV, V)

AA \*sapw- "sp. tree" > Sem: Arab saf̄n "a tree with thorns" || Cu: (E) Harso-Dobase šaapakko "sycamore; Ficus veta" (AMS) || Berb: (N) Ntifa a-suf, Semlal ta-s̄f-t, Kabyle ta-saf-t "oak; Quercus ilex" || Ch: (W) Hausa šafo "sp. tree"; pBole \*šooḥ "wood" > Geruma šāḥ (pl.), Ngamo šòhò, Bolewa šòwe etc. (Schuh). Cf. SISAJ III, 6: Arab + Berb + WCh.  
Cf. FeVo \*šapa "aspen" (UEW 783) || ? Alt: Tk \*syba "Pinus" (Räsänen 1969, 414).

83. Dr \*tō[k]- "Ficus" (D 3537: V, VI)

AA \*tik- "sp. tree" > Om: (N) Yemsa teʔa "sycamore" (Cerulli) || Berb: (N) Warzazat tiqql, Iglwi tliq "juniper" (Laoust 1920, 490), Senhaja, Iznacen t̄aqqā id. (Renisio), Zayan t̄aqa "sorte d'arbuste épineux" (Loubignac), if t- is not the feminine prefix.

84. Dr \*alli "water lily" (D 256: I-III)

AA \*lil- "flower" > Cu: (E) Oromo ililli "flower" (Thiene; Borello; Gamta) || Berb: (S) Taito, Ghat ilel (Masqueray, Nehli), Ahaggar élol "laurier-rose" (Foucauld) < \*Hilil (cf. Prasse 1974, 124) || (N) Shilh of

Tazerwalt alili (Stumme), Iznacen alili (Renisio), Zayan aliji id. (Loubignac), Kabyle ilili id. (Dallet), Ayt Seghrushen alillu "flower" etc. (Laoust 1920, 472).

Cf. IE: Hittite alel-, dat.-loc. alili "flower, bloom", coll. alalassar "meadow", Greek λείριον & Latin lilium "lily" (see Blažek 1996, 22).

85. Dr \*kog- "millet" (D 2163: I, III? V, VI)

AA \*gur-/\*gir- "millet, bean" > Sem: PostbiblHebrew gērā "grain of a carob", BiblHebrew "1/20 of a shekel", Aram gērā "Johannisbrotsame" > cf. Akk girū "1/24 part of šigtu (unit of weight)" (AHw 291; Cohen 1970f, 177; Klein 1987, 108) || Ch: (W) Hausa gééróó "millet", Gwandara gyoro id.; Sura gyewuro id. (Kraft); Diri agyura id. (Skinner); Seya gyoro id. (Kraft) (Stolbova 1987, 219) || (C) Higi Futu gōrwa "millet", Lamang gōraḡ id., Misme gwirany "sorghum" (Skinner 1996, 83) || (E) Sumray giri "Beans" (Friedrich) = jīrī id. (Lukas), Dangla gérdyén id. (Fédry), Jegu gir(k), Mubi jīrāgō etc. id. (Jglb 1994, 11).  
Cf. IE \*g<sup>h</sup>er- "millet", \*g<sup>h</sup>er-/\*g<sup>h</sup>er- "sp. corn or grass" (Pokorny 1959, 439-40, 445).  
Cf. Sum gur "Getreidemass" (Zimmern 1915, 21; here he saw a source of Akk kurru, Hebr kōr, Aram kōrā > Arab kurr id.).

86. Dr \*ōl- "palm leaf" (D 1070: I, II)

AA \*śalw- "leaf, sprout" > Sem: ? Akk alū & elū "Tonröhre" (AHw 39: < Sum); Hebr śāle "leaf" (Klein 1987, 472), Syr śelwā "leaf, foliage" (Rabin 1975, 91; he also quotes Arab ḡalā "to grow (plant)", ʔaḡlā "to strip a vine of its leaves") || Cu: (E) Som śaleen "leaf" || ? Eg (OK) śr "Binse, als Schreibfeder", (Greek) śr.t "Stengel der Lotosblume" (Wb. I, 208), Coptic Ⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩⲉ "jonc, roseau de marais" (Vycichl 1983, 16) - cf. Calice 1936, 26, #14a: Akk+Hebr + Eg || Berb: (N) Ayt Ndir, Zayanala "leaves" (Laoust 1920, 471) || (W) Zenaga āḡa id. (Nicolas) || (S) Ahaggar ela, pl. ilattān "feuilles minuscules" < \*ē-laHaH /?-laHāt-an (Prasse 1974, 76); cf. also Ahaggar él, pl. élawān & élān, East Iulemidden yei, pl. yellātān "herbe fraîche" < \*Hilil(-āwan) & \*Hilil (Prasse 1974, 129, 125) || Ch: (W) Pero alāw "leaf" (Kraft); Jimbin aluhu id. (Skinner) || (C) Muffu ēlē "leaf" (Strümpell).  
Cf. IE \*H<sub>2</sub>el-/ \*H<sub>2</sub>jol-: Hittite hahhal- "Strauch, Busch" (\*halhal-?), hahlawant- "green" (Tischler I, 123-24, 121); Latin ulva "Schilfgras, Seegrass".

87. Dr \*āk- "leaf" (D 335: I, III, V, VI) and \*ak(k)- "to sprout" (D 15: I, II, VII) or \*ēk- "leaf" (D 775: IV, V)

AA \*[h]ak/k- "part of a tree (leaf, branch, root)" > Cu: (C) Awngiekki "grass" (Conti Rossini) || (E) Afar-Saho hak "branch" (Reinisch), Saho lrob ḡak id. (Hayward); Burji haḡāa, haḡḡa "tree, wood", Sidamo, Hadiya, Libido, Geddo, Kambatta haḡḡa id. (Sasse 1982, 90; Hudson 1989, 158) || (S) Mbugu ma-hāko "grass", -hāko "green"; ? Burunge hiḡas- "to cook leafy greens" (Ehret 1980, 306) || Om: (S) Ubaner aqa, Galila (ha)qa, ahaqa, Bako (a)haka, Dime aax, aah (Fleming) = haḡḡo, Banna haaqa etc. "tree" (Bender) || (N) Koyra akka id. (Cerulli) || Berb: Ahaggar éké, pl. ikéwen "root" (Foucauld), Ayr & Iulemidden ekāy id. (Alojaljaly), Adghaq ekew id. || ? Ch: (W) Hausa haki "grass", Pa'a hyeḡa "straw (stalks)" (Skinner 1996, 102). Cf. OEI huk "wood" (Blažek 1999, 65: AA + El)

88. Dr \*cappu "leaf" (D 2673: I, II)

AA \*Sap- "leaf" > ? Sem: Akk šuppatu(m) "Binse" (AHw 1280) || Cu: (E) Geddo šafa "leaf" (Hudson), Hadiya, Qabenna šāfi-ta > Gurage of Soddo šafo "round base made of leaves of the āsāt and made for carrying loads and shoulders or head or used under a pot" (Leslau 1979, 572-73; he also quotes Oromo šāfo, but without any translation) || Ch: (W) Miya, Kariya tlipi, Mburku tlipu "leaf" (Skinner 1977, 28; he incorrectly quoted 'Peve' tlap id. instead of correct Peve, the language from the Masa group recorded by Kraft 1981; Stolbova 1996, 98 follows this misprint, using Pero) || (C) ? Logonetli "herbe, paille" (Mouchet); Banana labānā, Lame lāb, Peve tlap, Zime tla'b "leaf" (Kraft).

Cf. IE \*sop- > Olcelandic sef "reed"; Church Slavonic sopux̄ id. (Mann 1984-87, 1247).

E. Inanimate nature / space / time

89. Dr \***ar**ay "stone, rock" (D 321: )  
 AA \***har**- > Sem \***harar**- "mountain" > Tell Amama **ḥarri**, Ugar, Phoen **hr**, Hebr **har**, **hererī** id. (Cohen 1970f, 459) ||| Cu: (E) Yaaku **hÉÉró**, pl. **hÉrór** "big rock" (Heine) ||| Berb: (S) Ahaggar **āhor**, pl. **āhōrən** "amoncellement de rochers" (Prasse 1969, 65).  
 Cf. El (Achaemenid) **har** "stone" (Blažek 1999, 62: Dr + AA + El).
90. Dr \***pār**- "rock" (D 4121: I, II?)  
 AA \***pVhr**/l- "stone" > Sem: Arab **fīhr** "stone of the size of a hand" (Steingass 807) ||| ?Om: (N) Kachama **palo** "stone" (Bender) ||| Ch: (W) Sura **kā-pÉr** "stone, gravel" (Jg), Mupun **peer** "stone" (Frayzingier) || (C) Hwona **fÉrā**; Higi Nkafa & Kamale **púfÉ**, Higi Baza **pífÉ**, Fali Kiria **pífi** etc.; Fali Mucela **fara(n)**, Gude **farā**, Mwulyen **fúrá** etc. id. (Kraft) || (E) Kera **pór-kí** "stone, rock, mountain" (Ebert), Bidiya **peera** "roche lisse" (Alio & Jg). Stolbova 1996, 20: pCh \***puHer**- + Arab.
91. Dr \***por**(r)- "mountain, summit" (D 4567: I, IV-VII) and / or \***pör**- "hill" (D 4595: I, II)  
 AA: Cu: (E) \***buur**- "highlands, hill" > Som **buur** "mountain", Rendille **búr** "hill" (Galboran & Pillinger), Jiddu **burfi** "mountain" (Banti & Ibraaw).  
 Cf. Alt: Tung \***bur**- "island" and / or \***bori**- "mountain" (TMS I, 111, 95).
92. Dr \***var**- "mountain" (D 5274: I, II) and / or \***vār**- "mountain slope, side" (D 5360: I)  
 AA \***waŕr**/\***warŕ**- "forest, mountain" > Sem \***waŕr**- > Ugar **yŕr** "forest", Punic **yr** "wood", Moabite pl. **yŕr-n** "parc", Hebr **yaŕar** "forest", Aram-Syr **yaŕrā** "herbes non utiles, buissons, choses malheureuses", Arab (Yemen) **waŕra** "thicket", Geez **warŕ** "uneven (rough) terrain" (Leslau 1987, 603, 617; Cohen 1970f, 580) ||| Cu: (E) Dasenech **wor** "mountain" (Fleming) = **wáár** "stone" (Sasse); Tsamakko **woro** "forest" (< Ometo ?) ||| Om: (N) Wolayta, Zala, Gamu, Dache **wora** "forest" (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 547-48: Ometo + Tsamakko + Bayso oro "wood, forest", but the latter form is derivable from ECu \***kor**-) ||| Ch: (W) Seyawur "mountain" (Kraft), Zaar **wuur** id. (Shimizu).  
 Cf. IE \***wer**- (?) > Persian **bar** "up, upon", Armenian **ger** id.; \***wers**/\***wŕs**- > **váršman** "peak, top", **váršiya**- "higher", **váršigŕha**- "highest"; Old Irish **ferr** "better" (\***werso**- "higher"); Lithuanian **viršus**, Old Church Slavonic **vrŕxъ** "top"; \***werk**/\***wŕk**- > Irish **feirc** "peak, bulge", Welsh **gwyrch** "top"; ? \***werks**/\***wŕks**- > Old Indic **vŕkšá**- "tree" (lit. "top"), Gypsy **veš** "forest"; Avestan **varəðō** "tree", Persian **bīše** "forest, thicket", Kurdic **vêše** id.; (Mann 1984-87, 1516, 1519, 1601; Pokorny 1959, 1151-52) ||| FU \***wöre** "mountain, forest" & Ural \***wārā** (FUV 126, 121-22; Illič-Svityč 1971, XIX, XX, XIV: Ural + Dr) ||| ? Alt: Tunguz \***bori**- "mountain" (TMS I, 95), if it does not belong to Dr. \***por**(r)- "mountain, summit" studied above.
93. Dr \***kur**- "hilly country" (D 1844: I, II, III, VI) and / or \***kūr**- "island" (D 1860: I, VI)  
 AA \***kur**- "hilly country" > Sem: Sabaic **kwr** "hill" (Beeston), Arab of Hadramawt **kawr** "mountain" (Müller 1962, 98), ? Arab **kūrāt** "land, district" ||| Cu: (E) Saho **kooroo** "Berg, Gebirge" (Reinisch); Som **kur** "hill, mountain" (Abraham), Rendille **kūr** "hillock, small hill" (Galboran & Pillinger); Elmolo **kóran** "island" vs. **kóóran** "mountain" (Heine) ||| Ch: (C) Tera **kwárčáx** "hill" (Newman); Nzangi **kūrómo** "mountain", Glavda **žakwura** "stone", Zeghwana **kwiré** id., Gava, Nakatsa **kurá** id. (Kraft); Musgu **kiri(č)**, **kriid** "stone" (Krause); Kuseri **kurr** id. (Lebeuf) || (E) Ndam **kūrár** "mountain" (Benton).  
 Cf. IE \***g<sup>er</sup>H**- "mountain", in Balto-Slavic also "forest" (Pokorny 1959, 477-78) ||| Ural \***kurV** "thicket" (UEW 217) and / or FiPe \***kurV** "Hügel, Anhöhe, Landrücken" (UEW 677); cf. also FiPe \***korkV** "heightened place" (UEW 672); also Sum **kur**, **gur** "mountain, highlands, land".
94. Dr \***tēri** "sandhill, hillock" (D 3461: I)  
 AA \***dary**- "mountain" > ? Sem: Akk **midru** "eine Art Land" (AH 651); Post-BiblHebr **mÉdCr** "clod of earth", Syr **medrā** "clod, soil"; Arab **madar** "clods of earth, mud"; Sabaic **mḍr** "territory, ground"; Mehri **medēr** "sun-

dried brick"; Geez **mādr** "earth, ground, soil, field, country, land, territory, district, bottom of a pit" (Leslau 1987, 330), if the first syllable represents the prefix \***ma**/\***mi**- of *nomina loci*; the original root **vd-r-w** can be preserved in the verb continuing in Jewish Aram **d'rā** "élever, soutenir, emporter"; Harsusi **derō** "atteindre le sommet", **adrō** "grimper au sommet" (Cohen 1970f, 312) ||| Cu: (N) Bejadar "edge, bank of khor" (Hudson) || ? (E) Mussiye (SLLE) = Bussa (Bender) **tarra** "mountain" ||| Om: (N) Ometo \***dariya** "mountain" > Zala **darya**, Wolayta **deriya**, Gofa **dere**, Kachama **dare** etc. id., Gamu **dare** "country" (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 348) ||| Berb: Ancient Libyan **Δόρεν** "Atlas mountains" || (E) Siwa **adrār**, pl. **idrārən** (Laoust), Ghadames **adurar**, pl. **durären** "mountain" (Lanfry) || (S) Ahaggar **adrar**, pl. **idraren** "mont, massif montagneux, chaîne de montagnes" (Foucauld), Iulemidden **adar**, pl. **-en** "mountain" (Berg) || (N) Kabyle **adrar** "mountain" (Dallet), Shilha **adrar**, pl. **idraren**, Tamazight **dari**, pl. **tedwari** id. (Cid Kaoui) || Guanche **adara** "monte", **adaar** "cierta parte de costa peñascosa al Este de Tenerife; falaises escarpées; riveras escarpadas" (Woelfel 1965, 594-95) ||| ? Ch: (W) Ngamo **diri** "hill" (Meek).  
 Cf. Alt: Tk \***jār** "steep bank" (Räsänen 1969, 188) < Alt \***d**- || Mong **dōre** "treppenähnliche Hügelabsatz" (Ramstedt 1935, 99 compared it with Ewenki **dōrā** "Hügel").

95. Dr \***tip**p- "hill, mound" (D 3229: I-III, VII)  
 AA: Cu: (N,C,E) \***dab**(b)-/\***dib**(b)- "hill" > ? (N) Beja **dabba**, **debba**, **dibba** "loose dry soil; mound (of earth soil, sand); bank; moving sand hill(s)" (Roper), if it is not borrowed from Arabic (dial. of the Egyptian beduins) **debbah** "Sanddüne" or from Tigre **dabbat**, Tigray **dəbbat** "hill of sand" || (C) Bilin **dibba** "erhöhter Platz vor dem Dorfe", Qwara **deba**, Dembea **debba** "mountain" (Reinisch), Kemant **dāba** "colline, petite plaine montante" (Conti Rossini) || (E) Afar **daāba** "brow of a hill" (Parker & Hayward); Som **dabo** "Hügel, kleiner Berg" (Reinisch).  
 Cf. Alt: Mong **dobu(n)** "hill" (Ramstedt 1935, 97) || ? Tk \***dōbā** "hill, peak" (Räsänen 1969, 494) indicates Alt \***t**-.

96. Dr \***kū**(v)i "mountain" (D 2178: I, III, VI)  
 AA \***gab**/\***gub**- "mountain" > Sem: Mehri **gōbi** "side of mountain", East Jibbali **gē** id. (Johnstone) ||| Cu: (N) Beja **gwob** "heap of stones in the bed of a khor" (Hudson) = **gwāb** "broad open flat ground with little or no vegetation" (Roper) = **ng<sup>aab</sup>** "flache, steinige Ebene" (Hess) || (E) \***gub**(b)- > Afar **gubb-i** "high spot in undulating country"; Dasenech **gum** "mountains"; Oromo **gubb-aa** "up, above"; Dullay: Tsamakko **g<sup>up</sup>-o** (Hayward), Harso **gúp-o** "mountain"; Burji **gúbb-a** "highland" (Sasse 1982, 85) || Dahalo **gúba** "plains" (Ehret 1980, 238) ||| Eg (Pyr) **Gbb** "Erdgott; Erde, Erdboden" (Wb. V, 164) ||| Ch: (C) Gava **yuḁā**, Nakatsa **yūba** "mountain" (Kraft).  
 Note: The semantic difference "mountain" vs. "plain" is not unusual, cf. Bulgarian **planina** "mountains" vs. the original meaning preserved in Czech **planina** "plain".

97. Dr \***mēruvay** "pyramid, high top" (D 5094: I, II, III)  
 AA: Eg (OK) **mr** "pyramid" (Wb. II, 94). Vycichl, *Muséon* 71[1958], 149-52 compared it with the metathesized Semitic words as Arab **raym** "Haufen, (Treppen)stufe, Anhöhe, Hügel, Grabhügel, Grab", **rēm** "Grabhügel, Grab", Hebrew **rōm** & **rūm** "Höhe, Hochmut", **rāmā** "Anhöhe" - all from **vr-w-m**, cf. Klein 1987, 611 ||| Berb: (N) Kabyle **θemerl** "isolated rock, crag ?" (Newman 1887).  
 Cf. Ural \***mvrV** "mit Sträuchern (wald)bewachsener Hügel, Bergrücken" (UEW 291-92) and / or \***mortV** "Ende, Rand, Ufer" (UEW 280-81).

98. Dr \***cilli** "hole" (D 2575: I, III) and / or \***calim**- "pit, hole" (D 2367: I-III, VI)  
 AA \***čal**/\***čil**- "hole, cave" > Sem: Akk **šlu(m)** & **šēlu** "Vertiefung" (AHw 1237; cf. p. 1152 **šalū(m)** & **salū** "eintauchen"); with another third radical cf. Arab **čalam** "breaking of a river bank", **čulmat** "gap, split, cleft" (Steingass 208) ||| Cu: (E) \***sill**/\***sull**- > Oromo of Wellega **fulla'a** "to pierce through, break through" (Gragg), Konso **silla** "small hole" (Black) - see Sasse, *AuÜ* 58[1974-75], 245 ||| (S) Qwadza **silimbayo** "cave" (Ehret 1980, 326: Konso+Qwadza) ||| Berb: (N) Kabyle **tasilya** "fossé; caniveau" (Dallet).

99. Dr \*kolli "valley, bay, gulf" (D 2137: I, II)

AA \*gul- "river" > Cu: (E) Afar golo "valley" (Parker & Hayward); Som gol "foot of hill"; Oromo gol-a "corner, edge, gorge", EOromo gol-uu "valley"; Gollango-Gawwada kol-l-e "river", Tsamakko gol-e id.; Burji gól-oo "slope" (Sasse 1982, 83) ||| Ch: (W) Hausa gulbi "river" || (C) Wadi goolo "Bach, Fluss" (Strümpell); Mbara goloṅay "marigot" (Tourneux et al.) ||| Berb: (S) Ahaggar aḡalmam, pl. iḡalmāmen "réservoir d'eau naturel", Ayr éḡalmam "id., lac, mare", Ghat aḡelmam "lac" || (N) Beni Snus gelmam "petit lac", Senhaja aḡelmam "lac" etc. (Kossmann 1999, 158, #406), Kabyle aḡulmām, pl. iḡulmiam "lake" (Newman 1887, 29 connected it with Kabyle gell "to be stagnant"). Cf. FU \*kolV "hollow, hole; crack, rift" (UEW 174) ||| ? IE: Celt \*glendo- "edge, valley" > OIrish glenn "valley", Welsh glyn id., if g- is from \*g<sup>h</sup>-. Cf. Bomhard & Kerns 1995, #349: Dr + ECu + FU + Celt + Kartv \*yele- "ravine, river".

100. Dr \*pug- "water, stream, river" (D 4338: I)

AA \*[f]awan- "waterfall; rain" > Cu: (E) Sidamo fo'ónčo "waterfall", Kambatta foofančú, Qabenna, Alaba faaná id., cf. also Gurage: Muher, Maskat, Wolane f'an, Gogot f'anat id. (Leslau 1979, 233) ||| Om: (N) Mocha pōcno "waterfall" (Leslau 1959, 45) ||| Ch: (W) \*fawan "rain" > Sura, Angas, Ankwe fwan, Gerka fien id. (Jg); Kiir fwán, Zul fwáné, Zaar wvān etc. id. (Shimizu) - see Stolbova 1987, 160.

101. Dr \*vār- "to flow" (D 5356: I, VI)

AA \*war- "river, lake" > Cu: (N) Beja \*wer reconstructed after the record oh-wer "Fluss" of Krockow || (C) Bilin wārāba "river", Khamir wirba id. (Reinisch), Khamta wirwa id. (Conti Rossini) || (E) \*war- (Sasse 1979, 42) > Som war "pool, pond", Rendille wor "well" (Galboran & Pillinger) or "river" (Fleming); Dasenech war "river" (Sasse) = wār "river (the Omo)" (Tosco); Burji wara "marsh, swamp" (Hudson) ||| Om: (N) Male uor "river" (da Trento) ||| Eg (Pyr) wrw "Teich" (Wb. I, 332) ||| Ch: (W) Hausa wuriya "stream"; Miya wər "lake" (Krafft).

102. Dr \*kāl "air, window" (D 1481: I) and \*kāji "wind, air" (D 1499: I-IV, VI), cf. also Kurukh ẽxā-gālī "rainy season" (D 876)

AA \*kal-/\*kul- > Ch: (C) Mafa kwōlār "wind" (Krafft) || (E) Sokoro gāle (Friedrich), Gabri kal, Nancere kāle, Dormo kál id. (Lukas), Kwang ká:l, Kabalai kálə, Lele kálē, Sumray gālē, Ndamgā:l, Tumak gá:l "wind" (Jg) 1994, 80-81) ||| ? Eg (Pyr) ẽ3w "Luft, Wind, Hauch, Atem" (Wb. V, 350), Coptic THY "wind" (Vycichl 1983, 223).

Cf. Alt: Tk \*kal- "air, heaven" (Räsänen 1969, 226 compared it with Mong galgan "clear sky").

103. Dr \*ək- "cool" (D 741, 742: VII)

AA \*(y)ak/k- "cold" > Cu: (C) Bilin eḡaya "hail, ice, snow", Qwara yeḡaya "hail, snow", Awngi eḡaya id. (Reinisch), besides Awngi oqumi "cold" (Lamberti) = eḡumi id. (Beke) ? ||| Om: (N) Shinasha akká, Kafa & Mocha akko (Lamberti), Anfillo aḡo "cold" (Bender) ||| ? Ch: (W) Zaar yáktu || (C) Glavda áákwhya "cold" (Jg) 1994, 79).

Cf. IE \*yeg- "ice" (Pokorny 1959, 503). Dolgopolsky, *Étimologija* 1964[65], 263: Qwara + IE.

104. Dr \*cim- "cold, chill, moistness" (D 2539: I-III, VI, VII?)

AA \*s-m-f- "to be cold" > Berb: (S) Ahaggar ésamīḡ, lulemidden, Ghat sammiḡ || (W) Zenaga šammōḡ || (N) Wargla asōmmāḡ, Zayan asōmmiḡ etc. "cold" (Militarev 1991, 254-55) || (E) Ghadamessemḡ "être froid" (Lanfray), Siwa asemmaḡ "froid" n. (R. Basset < Bricchetti-Robecchi) ||| Ch: (W) Pa'a sōndf, Tsagu šifan, Diri sūmbūḡ; Polci šimtu, Zaar of Gambar šimda "cold" || (C) Gisiga himeḡ, Gidar semia; Logone sōmááḡ; Masa sime, Zime-Batna simbéḡ "wind" || (E) Kera sāye "cool"; Tumak had "cold" etc. (Jg) 1994, 78-81).

Cf. Kartv \*šim- "water, wet" (EWKS 317)?

105. Dr \*viñ- "sky, heaven" (D 5396: I, II, VII) and / or \*vēnt- "God", cf. also Kui vēnu "God, spirit" (D 5530: V, VI?)

AA \*wan(y)- "light, day" > ? Sem: Gurage: Gyeto waʔana, Muher wanna "day (in daylight)" (Leslau 1979, 640) ||| Cu: (N) Beja wāna adv. "at dawn, early morning" (Roper) ||| Om: (N) Yemsa wona "day, daylight, light", Wolayta "morning", woonto "tomorrow", Gofa wonta "morning, tomorrow", Gamu woonta "morning" etc. (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 546), Koyra wont- "to dawn, become light" (Hayward), cf. also Kachama wanto (Lamberti), Koyra wonto, Zayse wonto "god", also borrowed in Burji wont-ōo id. (Sasse 1982, 190) ||| Ch: (W) Hausa wuni "daytime"; Tangale wuni "day of 24 hours; to spend the night"; Ngizim wōna id. (Skinner 1996, 292) || (C) Musugeu wāḡ "day" (Mouchet) ||| ? Eg (Greek) wny, wyn "Licht" (Wb. I, 315), Coptic OYOSM id. (Vycichl 1983, 231; he derived these forms from wn "to open", cf. the syntagms wn šsp "répandre la lumière", lit. "ouvrir la lumière", wn ḡr "voir, faire voir, se montrer", lit. "ouvrir la face").

106. Dr \*ic- "fire" (D 428: IV, VI)

AA \*ʔis- > Sem \*ʔiṣṣ-(at)- "fire" > Akk iṣātu; Ugar išt, Phoen ʔš, Hebr ʔeš, OArām ʔš, BiblArām ʔeššā, Yudeo-Aram ʔiṣṣā, Syr ʔešṣā, Geez ʔəṣət, Tigre ʔəṣat, Harari iṣāt etc. (Leslau 1987, 44; on the basis of Arab ʔanisat "l'élément familier du foyer", Cohen 1970f, 35-36 proposed the skeleton √ʔ-n-š) ||| ? Ch: (W) Sbauchi: Guruntum ʔiṣi id. (Jg) 1994, 138), Mbaaru iṣi id. (Shimizu). Karekare yeṣf, Ngamo yaṣi, Bolewa oṣf "fire" continue proto-Bolewa \*wasi (Schuh 1984, 208), cf. also Montol ʔus, Sura wus etc.; Kulere wūš; Gerumai ušši, Kirfi wūšf etc. (Jg) ibid.). Perhaps the apophonic pair \*ʔis-/\*ʔus-?

Cf. FU \*šsV- "heizen; sehr heiss, sehr warm sein" (UEW 27) ||| Alt: Tk: Turkish yšy- "funkeln, leuchten", yšyk "hell" etc. || Mong isu "Russ", Kalmyk iṣ "Kien(russ)" (Räsänen 1969, 167). Illič-Svityč 1971, 262-63, # 127: Sem + WCh + Tk.

107. Dr \*pu[v]- "spark" (D 4347: I, VI)

AA \*pišw- "fire" > Eg (Book of Deds) pšw "Feuer, Glut" (Wb. I, 503) ||| Berb: (E) Ghadames ufa "fire" || (N) Izdeḡ afa, Nefusa tə-faw-t id. || (S) Ayr, lullemeden efew, Adghaḡ efw, Taneslemt ə-fiw id. Militarev (1991, 259) connected these forms with the apparent cognates designating "light, sun": (S) Ghata-fa "light", Ahaggar tu-fa-t "morning", lulemidden t-fi-t "sun"; (N) Zayan ti-fu-t "dawn" ||| ? Ch: (C) Gidar affa (Mouchet), Musgu áfú (Tourneux), Logone fū ~ ffū "fire" (Lukas).

Following his older study (1964) and the comparisons of Illič-Svityč (1966, 1968), Dolgopolsky (1995) compared it with Kartv \*-px- "warm (of weather)" ||| IE \*peH₂j-wj/-wen- "fire" (Pokorny 1959, 828) ||| FU \*pājwā "day, sun, lightning / thunder, fire" (UEW 359-60) ||| Alt \*p/p'ewl > pMong \*feḡd > mMong heḡu-šiye- "ne pas supporter le climat", Kalmyk ɛ- "to warm, to dry in the sun or by fire; to bake" etc. (Starostin 1991, 240, 277) ||| MKor :šaj-paj "dawn", lit. "new day" (AED #696) ||| OJapanese pi "sun, day" (Starostin 1991, 113).

108. Dr \*ak-/\*avk- "to warm by the fire / in the sun" (D 18: VII)

AA \*ʔak[y]- "fire" > ? Cu: (E) Arbore ʔeeg (Hayward), Elmolo éek "fire" (Heine), Dasenech ʔege "ashes" (Sasse), Yaaku ikú "fire" (Heine) || Dahalo ʔééga id. (Tosco) || (S) Asa yogot id. (Ehret) ||| Berb: (N) Tamazight takat "fire" (Cid Kaoui), Shilha of Tazerwalt tāk(k)āt "Feuer(stelle)" (Stumme), cf. (S) Ayr, lulemidden əkwəy "griller, brûler" (Alojaly), Ahaggar ekwi "griller" (Foucauld) ||| Ch: (W) Jimbin akwá; Bade áká "fire" || (C) Chibak úʔú; Lamang úvú; Gisiga ʔavo; Musḡoy kú; Buduma au; Masa ku id. || (E) Sokoro óko; Dangla ako; Mokilko ʔúwwó; Birgit ʔákú etc. id. (Jg) 1994, 138-39; Stolbova 1996, 81 reconstructs pCh \*ʔakuw- and compares it with Sem/Arab √s-k-k "to be hot").

Cf. IE \*aug- "light" (Mann 1984-87, 41).

109. Dr \*poḡutu "time" (D 4559: I-VI)

AA \*bar(y)- "time" > Sem: Soqotri b̄er, Mehri b̄er, b̄ar, Šheri ber "already, just" (Johnstone); cf. Hebr, Aram kəbār id. (Leslau 1938, 97; Dolgopolsky 1966, 57: Sem + ECu) ||| Cu: (E) \*bar(r)- "time, age, year" (Sasse

1982, 35) > Saho **bar-** "old"; Som **ber-i** "time"; Elmolo **parr-ac** "daytime"; Óromo **bar-a** "time, year, age", Konso **par-a** "year, age"; Harso-Dobase **par-ko**, Gollango-Gawwada **per-ko** "year", Gollango **pár-a**, Dobase **par-anka**, Tsamakko **bar-an(ka)** "when" (AMS); Sidamo **barr-a** "day, time", Hadiya **ball-a** "day, date", Gedeo **bar-o** "time", Kambatta **bar-i** "date", Burji **bar-i** (Hudson) = **bér-i** (Sasse) "year". Cf. Ural **\*purkV** "time" (UEW 407).

110. Dr **\*an** "upper part, above" (D 110: I, II)

AA **\*[h]an-** > Sem: Akk **an(a)** "to, on" (AHw 47), Eblaite **ʔa-(NI)-na** "to" (Krebernik, *Quaderni di semitistica* 18[1992], 102) ||| Cu: (E) Harso-Dobase **ana** "auf" (AMS); HECu **\*hana** "over, above" (Hudson 1989, 109) ||| Eg (Greek) **hn, hnn** "head" (Wb. II, 492).

Cf. IE **\*an-** (**\*H<sub>2</sub>-** ?) "on, after" (Pokorny 1959, 39) and also **Sum an** "heaven; high, up" (see Blažek 1999, 57: Akk + HECu + Dr + Sum).

## F. Culture

111. Dr **\*vaṛi** "way, road" (D 5297: I, II)

AA **\*war-** "way, road" > Cu: (E) ||| Om: (N) Kafaworeto "road" (Habte Mikael), Mocha **worato** id. (Leslau), Shinasha **weera** id. (Bender) = **werhá** "Pfad, Strasse, Weg" (Lamberti) ||| Eg (Pyr) **w3.t** "Weg, Strasse; Seite" (Wb. I, 246), Copt Bohairic **ouoi** "côté, direction" (Vycichl 1983, 231; he proposes a natural derivation from Eg (MK) **w3y** "kommen") ||| Ch: ? (W) Ankwe **war** "path" (cf. Greenberg 1963, 61) || (C) Dari **wari** "Weg" (Strümpell), Peve, Zime **vari** "road" (Kraft). Müller 1975, 66, #37: Kafa + Eg.

112. Dr **\*arū-** "way, road" (D 405: I)

AA **\*ʔarḥ-/\*ʔurḥ-** "way, path" > Sem: Akkurḥu(m) "Weg, Pfad, Bahn" (AHw 1429); Hebr. poet. **ʔoraḥ** "path; way (of life, etc.)", Syr **urḥā** "road", OSArab **ʔrḥ** "road" (Biella 1982, 26), cf. Geez **marḥa** ~ **marḥa** ? "to show the way" ||| Cu: (E) Afararaah "road" (Reinisch), Saho **araḥ** id. (Welmers); ? Bayso **raa** id. (Hayward); Gedeo **ora** id. (Hudson) ||| Ch: (W) Angas **ār** "road, path" (Foulkes), Chip **yar** "road" (Kraft), Sura **ār** "Weg" (Jg); Kulere **ʔarāw** "Weg; Lohn" (Jg) || (E) Mokilko **ʔurzi** "Weg" (Lukas); Bidiya **ʔóorá** id. (Alío & Jg); Kajakse **irí** id. (Dornooob). Greenberg (1963, 61, #59) connected the Angas form with Ankwe**war** (plus Eg **w3.t** - see the preceding entry) and with (C) Gidar **úrḡ**, but its meaning is "brousse" (Mouchet 1950, 16); it is apparently Greenberg's mistake because only the following entry is "chemin". Cf. FeMd **\*ura** "way, path" (UEW 804) ||| Alt: Tk **\*oram** "street" || or < Mong **oram** "trail" (Räsänen 1969, 364).

113. Dr **\*teru-** "street, road" (D 3422: I-III) and / or **\*tāri** "road, way" (D 3170: I-III)

AA **\*dar[ ]-** "road, way" > Sem **\*darb-** > Syr **darbā** "route"; Arab **darb** "porte, défilé, rue, chemin", Jibbali **derb** "rue de village, cour" (Cohen 1970f, 307), Mehri **darb** "village street" (Johnstone), besides Arab **darar** "tracé, ligne d'une route, direction en face de la maison, point d'où souffle le vent" (ibid. 319) ||| ? Cu: (E) Yaaku **daar** "road" (Heine) ||| Ch: (W) Maha **dore** "path" (Newman), Karekare **ndārū** "road"; Miya **dĕrhĕ** id. (Kraft) = **darhi** "road, path, way", Jimbin **dāru**, Mburku **dĕri**, Kariya **derahi** id. (Skinner) - see Stolbova 1987, 172.

114. Dr **\*pur-** "house" (D 4294: I, II)

AA **\*bir-/\*bur-** "fort, fortress" > Sem: Akk **biru(m)** "Festung, Burg" (AHw 129) > Hebr **bīrā** "château, ville forte", Emperor Aram **byrt?**, Yudeo-Aram **bīrtā** "forteresse, temple" (Cohen 1970f, 63) ||| Ch: (W) Pa'a **mbura**, Siri **bəri** "place" (Skinner); Buli **ibəri** id. (Kraft); Fyer **bor**, pl. **bwar** "Zuhause, Heim" (Jg) || (C) Bachama **vūrā-to** "town", Gudu **vūrā-tšū**, Nzangi **vīrā-ci**, Gude **vīran** id. (Kraft).

115. Dr **\*uṛi** "place" (D 684: I) and **\*ūr** "village, town; house" (D 752: I-IV, VIII)

AA **\*war-/\*wur-** "kin, family, house, village, city, place" > Cu: (E) Arbore **warí** "household" (Hayward); Oromo of Wellega **warra** "family, kin" (Gragg) ||| Ch: (W) Hausa **wúrfi** "place" (Skinner 1996, 93); Daffo-Butura **wúúr** "Gehöft, Haus, Heimstatt, Zuhause", Bokkos **wur** "Haus" (Jg) || (C) Gabin **wúre**, Ga'anda **wīra**

"town", Hwona **würé** "compound" (Kraft); Makeri **woro** "village" (Lebeuf) || (E) Dangla **wére** (Fédry), Migama **wéré** "place" (Jg), Sumray **wóram** "kin, family" (Lukas) ||| ? Eg (OK) **w** (if from **\*w3** after Takács, p.c.) "district, region" (Wb. I: 243) and / or (Pyr) **j3.t** (< **\*ju3.t** < **\*jurt.** < **\*wurt.**?) "place" (Wb. I, 26). Cf. Blažek 1999, 57: AA + Dr + Elamite **murut/murun** "earth" + **Sum uru**.

Cf. IE **\*wer-** > Av **vāra-** "Deckung, Wehr", Pahlavi **wl /war/** "shelter, enclosure", Persian **bār** "Wall, Fundament, Burg" (Iranian > Hungarian **vár** "Festung, Burg"); OEnglish **weord** "Hof, Wirtschaft" etc. (Pokorny 1959, 1161-62) ||| FU **\*werV** "place" (UEW 569) ||| Alt: Tk-Mong **\*orun** "place" (Räsänen 1969, 365); also **Sum uru** "city".

116. Dr **\*aṛay** "room, house" (D 322: I-III, VI)

AA **\*ʔayr-/\*ʔary-** "city, house" > Sem: Eblaite **ī-rī-a-tum /ʔīr-iy-at-um/** "suburb" (Fronzaroli, *Quaderni di semitistica* 13[1984], 143); Ugar **ʔr**, Hebr **ʔīr** "city", OSArab **ʔr** "castle" (Aistleitner 1965, 241) ||| Cu: (E) Afar **ʔāri** "house, tent" (Parker & Hayward), Saho **ʔāre** "house" (Welmers) = **ʔarii** "family, house, kin" (Reinisch) ||| Om: (S) Ubamer **eri** "house" (Fleming) ||| ? Eg (MK) **ʔ.t** (if from **\*ʔ3.t** after Takács, p.c.) "chamber", (late) **ʔ** (**\*ʔ3** ?) "house" (Wb. I, 160). Cf. Blažek 1999, 57: Dr + AA + **Sum éri** "city".

117. Dr **\*mēṛ-** "plough" (D 5907: I, III, VI) and / or Dr **\*maṛ-** "axe" (D 4749: I, II, III, V, VI, VII)

AA **\*mar-** "hoe, plough" > Sem: Akk **marru(m)** "Schaufel, Spaten" (AHw 612) > Aram **marrā**, Arab **marr** "iron shovel"; ? Gurage of Selti **mirāmārā** "to plough a field for the third time", Amh **mārāmmārā** "to dig" (Leslau 1979, 422), besides Tigre **moran** "strap for the plough", Tigray **marānā**, Amh **mārānā** "die Ochsen an den Pflug spannen" (Littmann & Höfner 1962, 114) ||| ? Cu: (E) Hadiya **morāra** "Haken des Pfluges" (Plazikowsky-Brauner) ||| Eg (old) **mr** "hölzerne Hacke" [sign] (Wb. II, 98) ||| Ch: (W) Angas **mār** "to farm; a farm" (Foulkes), Chip **mār** "field", Montol **mái** id. (Jg); Bole-Tangale **\*mara** > Galambu **mārā** "farm" n., Dera **mārā** "farming" etc. (Schuh) || (C) Mboku **mər** "cultiver" (Mouchet); besides Mbara **mā:rāmāy** "sickle", Vulum **mā:rām** id. (Tourneux), maybe Kuseri **mōrṣəy** "knife" (Lebeuf), Gulfei **mír** id. (Roeder) || (E) Sibine **mīr-ī** "hoe" (Jg).

Cf. **Sum mar** "shovel, spade; mattock, hoe" (see Blažek & Boisson 1992, 19-21: Dr + AA + Sum, with other [areal] parallels in IE & Sino-Tibetan).

118. Dr **\*cāḳ-** "to sow" (D 2431: VII)

AA **\*suk-** "to sow" > Cu: (E) Gedeo **soḳ-** "to sow, mill" (Lamberti 1993, 374-75 explains the emphatic **-ḳ-** from **\*-k-** + the benefactive marker **\*-ʔ-**) ||| Om: (N) Shinasha **šookā** "seed" n. (Lamberti), Kafa **šok-** (Cerulli), Mocha **šō:kki(yé)** "to seed" (Leslau) ||| Eg (Pyr) **stjy** "to sow", Copt site id. (Wb. IV, 346; Vycichl 1983, 198) ||| Ch: (W) Hausa **shuuka** "to place seed in ground and cover with soil" (Skinner 1996, 246) || (C) Mbara **šok** "semer", Vulum **súki** "faire le trou avant de semer" (Tourneux et al.). See Blažek & Boisson 1992, 26: Dr + AA. Skinner 1996, 246: Hausa + IE (Latin & Celtic) **\*seg-** "to sow" (Pokorny 1959, 887).

119. Dr **\*y[ā]r-** "honeycomb" (D 518: I, II, VI)

AA: Sem **\*ʔ-w-r-**: Hebr **yaʔar** "honeycomb" (Klein 1986, 261; his Geez **\*waʔar** does not exist!) and maybe Geez **maʔar / maʔār** "honey(comb)" (Leslau 1987, 326) or Arab **ʔary** "honey" (Cohen 1970f, 33) and / or **rāhiyyat** "bee" ||| Cu: (E) Dasenech **aar** "honey" (Haberland) ||| Berb: Iulemidden **tárait** "honey" (Barth).

120. Dr **\*cup-** "salt", **\*cuvar** "salty" (D 2201: I-VI)

AA **\*ʔaCub-** "salt" > Cu: (C) Bilin, Kemant **šəwa**, Khamir **šəwa**, Awngi **číwí** "salt" (Appleyard 1984, 47: **\*č-**) ||| (E) Afar **ʔasbo**, Som **ʔusbo**, Boni **usubbə**, Bayso **esebo** "salt", Oromo **aššabo** "salt in small pieces" > Amh **aššabo** "salt for human consumption" ||| Om: (N) ? Anfilloa **ašabo** "salt", if not borrowed from Amh. (Lamberti 1986, 192, 302; Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 75). Cf. OJp **sipo** "salt" (> Ainu **sippo** id.).

121. Dr **\*kaṛ-** "to milk" (D 1385: I)

AA \*kar- "curdled milk, butter" > Sem: Syr kar- "beestings, colostrum, curdled milk" ||| Cu: (N) Beja kar "frische, nicht geschmolzene Butter" (Almkvist) || (E) Rendille keéra "fresh milk" (Galboran & Pillinger) ||| Berb: Ahaggar akru, pl. ikrūten (Foucauld), Ayr akaru / ikrūtān "lait coagulé", cf. Iulemidden kārāw "être coagulé" (Alojaly). Cf. Sum ga "milk", gāra, "cream" > Akk garūm id. (AHw 282). Militarev 1984[ms.]: Sum + AA (Syr+Beja+Ahaggar); Boisson 1989[ms.]: Sum + Dr; Blažek 1999, 57: Dr + AA + Sum.

122. Dr \*alaku "blade of a weapon, head of an arrow" (D 237: I, III)  
AA \*Hal/rā[k/g]- > Ch: (W) Dera rrga, Karekare rəŋká, Gerumai riya, Bole ria || (C) Margi lāgā, Kilba laga; Higi Nkafa rigi; Gude raga, Bachama rage; Lamang lExE; Wandala ʒlkā, Glavda lāgha; Gisiga helek, Muktele álk, Mafa lEkEEd, etc. "bow" (Jglb 1994, 38-39) ||| ? Eg (Pyr) rwd "Bogensehne", (N) rwd.t "etwas an Peitsche und Bogen" (Wb. II, 410), if it is not derived from (Pyr) rwd "fest sein" (ibid.), cf. Oromo rubuu tendon, nerve, string of bow" vs. Som rib- "strong" (Sasse 1982, 159). See Greenberg 1963, 53, #12: CCh + Eg; Blažek 1999, 56: Dr + CCh + NElamite ulkina "weapon" or "reed arrow".

123. Dr \*cil- "bow" (D 2571: I)  
AA: Ch: (C) Balda sālā, Mafa sūlóm "arrow" (Strümpell) = sūlóm id. (Seignobos) = sulbǝ id. (Kraft); Gulfei sǝl id. (Lukas).  
Cf: Kartv \*mšwil- "bow" (EWKS 248) ||| ? Alt: MKosárs "arrow, sting" (AEW #920: Kor + Ojp sas(i)- "prick, stab, sharp stick" || Tk \*sīl / \*sīl "tooth" || Mong \*sidün "tooth").

### Dravidian Sub-grouping

- I. Tamil, Malayalam, Irula, Kurumba, Kota, Toda, Kannada, Kodagu.
- II. Tulu, Belari, Koraga.
- III. Telugu.
- IV. Kolami, Naiki.
- V. Parji, Gadba.
- VI. Gondi, Konda, Pengo, Manda, Kui, Kuwi.
- VII. Kurukh, Malto.
- VIII. Brahui

### Abbreviations

AA Afroasiatic, Akk Akkadian, Alt Altaic, Amh Amhara, Arab Arabic, Aram Aramaic, Av Avestan, Berb Berber, Bibl Biblical, C Central, Celt Celtic, Ch Chadic, Cu Cushitic, Dr Dravidian, E East, Eg Egyptian, El Elamite, FeLp Fenno-Lappic, FeMd Fenno-Mordvinian, FePerm Fenno-Permian, FeVo Fenno-Volgaic, FU Fenno-Ugric, Ge Georgian, Hebr Hebrew, IE Indo-European, Jp Japanese, Kartv Kartvelian, Kor Korean, Lat Latin, M Middle, Mong Mongolian, N North, O Old, Om Omotic, p proto-, Phoen Phoenician, S South, Sem Semitic, Som Somali, sp. species of., Sum Sumerian, Syr Syrian, Tk Turkic, Tung Tunguz, Ugar Ugaritic, Ural Uralic, W West.

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## Two Words : Two Worlds\*

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### I. Introduction

There is general agreement among a sizeable number of linguists and anthropologists that language and culture have developed in correlation with each other. Based on this agreement Colby (1985), Keesing (1979), and Silverstein (1985) among others have proposed that the ability of human beings to understand language is inextricably interwoven with their encyclopedic knowledge of culture. I need not emphasize here that words are the most intuitively satisfying and significant linguistic units that act as the carriers of all kinds of knowledge including cultural knowledge. This is the reason scholars like Brown (1979) and Kay (1977) have argued that there exists a close relationship between cultural complexity and the structure of lexicon. In other words, a close study of the lexicon of a language will lead to the discovery of its cultural complexity and an analysis of the cultural complexity of a language will reveal its lexical structure. I should mention here that between language and culture the former, being handy, is much easier to be dealt with than the latter, which consists of so many facets. It is an established methodology to unravel the socio-cultural realities of a speech-community on the basis of the words used in it. In order to support this position I should quote Sapir (1979:193-194), who emphatically stated: "The careful study of such loan-words constitutes an interesting commentary on the history of culture. One can almost estimate the role which various peoples have played in the development and spread of cultural ideas by taking note of the extent to which their vocabularies have filtered into those of other peoples."

Scholars working on Oriya language<sup>1</sup> and culture, especially on Lord Jagannatha<sup>2</sup> (pronounced [jagan(n)a:tha]), must have come across two typical words: /puri/ and /nitia:ni/. The former is actually the name of a small town in which Lord Jagannatha's temple is situated, and the latter is the word used in Puri for 'milk'. The point to be noted here is that *Puri* is a strange place-name in the sense that it should not be used independently, as it means 'abode'. In other words, it is a sort of 'bound word' that is required to be attached to a preceding 'free word', e.g. *Vishnupuri* 'Vishnu's abode', *Shivapuri* 'Shiva's abode', *Indrapuri* 'Indra's abode', etc. I am trying to make the point that /puri/ in the sense of 'abode' cannot have an independent existence. If that is accepted, the question that will be asked is: How is it that Jagannatha's dwelling place has been named *Puri*? As the other word /nitia:ni/ is used only in and around the Puri town, while the Standard Oriya word for milk is /khira/ or /dudha/, it is obvious that there is a cause behind it. As no attempt has been made so far to account for these two words, I intend in this paper to discover the sources of both these words and determine their significance in the context of the culture of Puri in particular and Orissa in general.

### Situating the Problem

According to the description found in *da:Thavamśa*, Brahmadatta, the king of Kalinga (i.e. an ancient name of modern Orissa), had got a tooth of Buddha from Theraputta Kshema and worshipped it, placing it on a century and the most authentic and representative work on Oriya culture, bears testimony to this statement.

\* In this paper [T, Th, D, R, N, L, S] have been used for the voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop, voiceless aspirated retroflex stop, voiced unaspirated retroflex stop, unaspirated retroflex flap, retroflex nasal, retroflex lateral, and retroflex sibilant, respectively.

<sup>1</sup> Oriya is a Neo Indo-Aryan language and also the official language of the Indian state of Orissa.

<sup>2</sup> Jagannatha is the most important and tutelary deity of the Indian state of Orissa. In the last millennium almost all the kings belonging to different dynasties have ruled this state by declaring themselves as His representative or deputy.